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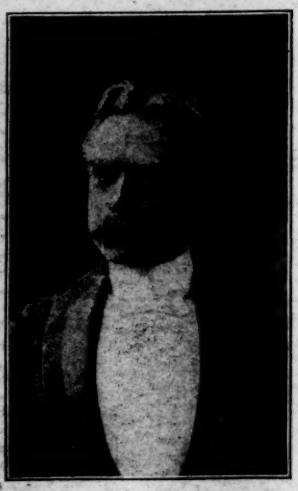

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THE
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THE RELIGION OF PRIMITIVE MAN.

I.

UNDER the title of *La Religion des Primitifs,*[1] Mgr. Le Roy has recently published the inaugural course of lectures delivered by him from the newly-established chair of the History of Religions at the Catholic Institute of Paris. This volume is also the first of a promised series of studies in that subject by various authors.

No one will deny that the questions offering themselves for treatment in such a series are of capital importance to Catholic apologetic; and, in the humble opinion of the present writer, Mgr. Le Roy's lectures throw so much light upon matters hitherto not a little obscure, and lay so solid a foundation for future work in the same sphere as to justify a rather extended review of his book.

That branch of scientific investigation known as the Comparative Study of Religions, of which their history forms an all-important factor, is still in its beginnings; and, unfortunately, those beginnings to a large extent have been presided over by *savants* with a bias anything but favorable to the tra-

[1] *La Religion des Primitifs,* par Mgr. A. Le Roy, Evêque d'Alinda; Supérieur-général des Pères du Saint-Esprit. Paris, Gabriel Beauchesne & Cie. 1909. See also the article by the same author: "État religieux de l'Afrique", in the *Dictionnaire de Théologie Catholique;* Paris, 1900. Fasc. II, Col. 528 to 541.

ditional Catholic account of religious origins. The researches of these gentlemen have been conducted under the influence of a prevailing tendency which not only would elevate the theory of evolution from the category of theories to that of ascertained laws, and apply it indiscriminately, in spite of many phenomena which it does not explain, to every department of being, but, overpassing the reasonable view of the process as a recognizable scheme according to which in some instances at least creative force has worked, would find in evolution the ultimate possible explanation of the universe of mind and matter, or even the self-sufficing cause and origin of all things that are.

In reality, as Mgr. Le Roy says, quoting Mr. John Morley's *Evolution and Religion,* "Evolution is not a force, it is a plan: it is not a cause, but a law." And he adds: "Religion, like civilization, being a living organization, we must not look to evolution as having created it, but only as having presided over its development: this we can admit with St. Vincent of Lerins and the whole Catholic school." [2]

By means of the evolutionary process as expounded by latter-day investigators, all religions, from the lowest to the highest, are made out to be the result of a gradual, inevitable, and purely natural growth of ideas; a growth that has kept pace accurately with man's slowly-accomplished ascent from a state of mere animality to the condition of a rational and civilized being. There is no room in this system for any primitive Revelation from on high; nor even for that Natural Religion which man both can and does attain by force of the mental and moral constitution with which his Maker has endowed him. The fundamental truths of reason, the teachings of conscience, the aspirations of the human heart toward a great ideal may no longer be considered as bearing witness to a Truth and a Law and an Object without whom the higher faculties of our nature offer an insoluble riddle. Pushed to their logical conclusion the principles of this philosophy have

[2] P. 460.

reduced all religion to the level of a mere psychological or social phenomenon, if it be not simply the purposeless outcome of an ignorant fear of the unknown and inexplicable exploited by priests.

Those who probably would claim for their own view that it is the most truly scientific, look upon religion as but a phase, already passing away, of that process now in movement by which the race will come finally to recognize material prosperity and social security as the sole basis of morals; while prayer and worship and the cultivation of virtue under the impelling or restraining influences of religious ideals and sanctions will be relegated to the place of illusions, useful and even necessary in the past, but meaningless in the light of truer views now rapidly being attained.

Nor is this a mere academic theory. On the continent of Europe it has already gained the prestige of a system publicly recognized and taught. Mgr. Le Roy tells us in his Preface (p. v) how this teaching in one or other of its forms has invaded the professorial chairs of Universities; that there is a demand for its extension; that the time has come to popularize it, (*de le mettre en catéchisme*), to introduce it into the curriculum of elementary schools and force it upon the intelligence of children. In this way, he observes, will come about the compulsory adoption of non-religion, or a so-called religion that shall consist merely in vague aspirations toward an ideal perfection of the human race to be reached independently of any supernatural basis or motive. It is some comfort to read his statement that the recent International Congress of the History of Religions, held at Oxford in September last, revealed so much difference of opinion amongst the apostles of this teaching as to have merited the name of "a new Tower of Babel"; but notwithstanding this, Mgr. Le Roy emphasizes the necessity of strictly controlling the assertions made by those who favor the new views, and of testing the security of their brilliant hopes for the future of humanity when those views shall have gained general acceptance.

Space will not permit us to follow Mgr. Le Roy in his

criticism of the spirit and method that have ruled this inquiry. Suffice it to say that he has two serious complaints to make.

In the first place he shows how those very men who are loudest in their demand for the elimination of all *a priori* elements from the discussion are themselves really the greatest offenders in this respect, assuming two postulates of very considerable weight, to say the least, in determining the conclusions ultimately reached. We are to exclude entirely all possibility of a primeval tradition of religious truth handed down through the ages from the childhood of the race, and, together with this, any sort of supernatural action directed to the preservation or renewal of that original revelation. We are to take it for granted that the law of evolution is the sole origin and therefore the only explanation of religious phenomena. "L'évolution, écrit M. Salomon Reinach comme conclusion axiomatique d'une de ses conférences, l'évolution est la loi des études sur l'humanité parce qu'elle est la loi de l'humanité elle-même." [3]

With these principles laid down as though they were self-evident, our study of religious origins must depend upon facts alone and upon what those facts teach us—always, however, viewed in the light of the two assumptions already irrevocably adopted as valid. We must admit at the outset that man has sprung from the brute: that this brute-man, by an inconceivably slow process of evolution, gradually attained to self-consciousness and reason; and, at a time which it is impossible even approximately to fix, began to manifest religious sentiments. Under such conditions of its birth, the primitive religion thus arrived at was necessarily and to an extreme degree both vague in its informations and gross in its form. Since, also, so far as it survives at all, the type of primitive humanity must be sought in savage races actually existing at the present time, we should expect to find in the religion of savages that same two-fold characteristic of vagueness and seemingly hopeless envelopment in the material. And that

[3] M. Le Roy, p. 23.

is precisely what we do find—according to our "scientific" informants—by accumulating, grouping, and explaining innumerable facts gained from the study of uncivilized peoples.

Mgr. Le Roy is perfectly willing to conduct his own inquiry along these lines. He, too, will take the facts of uncivilized life and let them speak for themselves, only entering his protest against the mode of procedure hitherto largely followed by which the religious evolution already described is assumed *a priori* and made to direct the inquiry instead of following —if it can be proved—as a consequence of facts honestly studied apart from preconceived notions.

The other complaint which Mgr. Le Roy has to make concerns the treatment of the material at hand; those same facts, that is to say, to which appeal is made. He is obliged to say that in many cases anything which would not fit in with the original assumptions to which he calls attention, has been ruthlessly suppressed. Further, the facts that have been used, he declares, have been grievously misunderstood. His own exposition in the volume before us gives reason for his charge, which does not include the accusation of bad faith, but simply of prejudice due to those many personal circumstances of education, surroundings, intellectual or moral bias, and the rest, which make it so easy to prove what we wish to prove. "On accepte volontiers des preuves qu'on recherche; dès qu'on les trouve bonnes pour soi, on les croit facilement recevables pour tous, et, pour peu qu'on ait l'esprit de prosélytisme, on se donne alors, avec quelque satisfaction, la noble mission d'éclairer l'humanité" (p. 18).

A word must now be said concerning Mgr. Le Roy's equipment for his task. As a mere learner from one of such high authority in his subject the present writer cannot pretend to offer a scientific criticism of the work under review. The object of this paper is simply to draw the attention of others whom, in the multiplicity of publications now issuing every week from the religious press, it might escape, to a work the mere perusal of which is enough to reveal its importance. Any Catholic, moreover, who is accustomed to follow with

interest the current religious questions of the day may judge by its effect upon his own mind something of the value of a contribution toward their solution. To such Mgr. Le Roy's treatment of the particular question with which he is concerned will surely carry conviction.

In support of his right to speak, and to speak magisterially, the Bishop of Alinda can appeal to some twenty years' missionary experience in Africa, during which time he held close and daily intercourse with natives of various races whose habitat ranges over a vast extent of territory. It is unnecessary to point out that a Catholic missionary has incalculably greater chances than any ordinary traveler of gaining the confidence and penetrating the well-known reserve of uncivilized peoples, or that Mgr. Le Roy would have possessed to begin with the immense advantage of collective experience laid up by his Congregation during many years of missionary work. His own career on the African Missions began in 1877 upon the East Coast. In Bagamoyo, situated on the mainland opposite the Island of Zanzibar, he found, as he tells us, "un champ d'observation incomparable." By that way entered all who were drawn to explore the mysteries of the "Dark Continent"; at that point also arrived every day from the interior caravans numbering as many as 500, 1,000, or even 2,000 men representative of the tribes of the great Bantu race, bringing their loads of ivory, copal, and skins, and leading with them crowds of slaves. Besides this, Mgr. Le Roy's mission involved numerous journeys and frequent residence in the interior, his range of action extending from Somaliland southward to Mozambique, and inland to the great peak of Kilima-Ndjaro and to the country of the Masai; while in 1893 he was called to the West Coast to labor amongst the native populations about the Gaboon River in the French Congo.

When he first went to Africa, Mgr. Le Roy had all the current notions about the black man and his religion. Like everyone else, he supposed the dark races universally to be Fetish-worshippers, without religion worthy of the name, devoid of all moral sense, lacking family institutions, ignorantly

adoring as gods not only animals, but senseless trees and stones. His long experience has led him to form very different conclusions.

As we have seen, Mgr. Le Roy places himself frankly upon the ground chosen by his opponents. He will not take the presuppositions of his faith—which, indeed, have their theological proof—for his starting-point. Putting aside, for the time, the hypothesis of a primitive divine revelation, whatever form it may have taken, he will seek for the Religion of Primitive Man in the psychology and social institutions not of civilized races, but of those furthest removed from civilization. If Quarternary man had—and, man being essentially a "religious animal," modern science will allow him to have had—religious instincts, the industrial and artistic productions of the Quarternary period afford much less information than we could wish. We must go, therefore, to three other sources of information; to the psychology of existing savages, of children, and of the higher animals. "Laissons (à M. Salomon Reinach) la tâche, trop délicate pour nos faibles moyens d'information, d'interroger les gorilles sur leurs convictions religieuses; réservons les enfants, et contentons nous des sauvages" (p. 38).

But the inquiry is not confined to an examination of the religious beliefs and practices of barbaric nations in our own times, nor within any period of which we have historical record: this is but a means to an end. The final object is to obtain light upon the religion of mankind in the very beginnings of the human race. It must be shown, therefore, that savages represent, at least sufficiently to afford data upon which to ground a probable argument, the characteristics of our common ancestors at that incalculably distant day which saw the commencement of their worldwide dispersion. That school of thought which has so largely succeeded in monopolizing in the popular mind the name of "modern science", has already settled, indeed, what primitive man must have been. Just emerged from the condition of a brute, he could have had no idea of a personal God, no morality, none of those

refined feelings that are summed up in the word "modesty", scarcely a notion of the difference between living and non-living things: he was a nature-worshipper who deified all he saw, falling down and adoring anything and everything to which he could attribute an occult influence of any sort: his family ties were as loose as we should expect from the promiscuity of sexual relations which, we are told, at first obtained. This pre-occupation has led to that misinterpretation of the facts of uncivilized life of which Mgr. Le Roy complains.

But there is an objection to be met which comes from another quarter. "The modern savage," some say, "is not primitive: he is degenerate and retrograde." Mgr. Le Roy admits freely that in point of civilization this is in many well-known cases true: that in some lands, and in parts of Africa itself, are found the traces of civilizations considerably more developed than anything to be seen amongst the present inhabitants. But he is able confidently to assert as a result of his wide and varied personal knowledge that, taking them as a whole, the savage nations of to-day have always been what they are now, or but little removed from their present condition. "Ce que le Noir est aujourd'hui il semble qu'il l'ait toujours été." He points out, moreover, that it is a mere assumption to suppose purity and superiority of religious ideas necessarily to follow step by step the advance of material civilization. In reality the reverse is very generally the case; and it is a fact that religion has visibly declined in Africa amongst those peoples whose social condition presents a more complex organization than that of other tribes, while the latter, more primitive in their habits of life, have retained a purer belief. Mgr. Le Roy finds an obvious parallel in this to the history of religion amongst nations far greater than the humble tribes of Africa. "D'après ce principe"—that of the necessarily parallel progress of religion and civilization—he writes: "le developpement religieux d'un peuple doit être nécessairement parallèle à son developpement social, politique, littéraire, artistique, etc. . . . si donc les hommes, à un mo-

ment donné—un moment qui peut compter plusieurs siècles—ont été dans un état de civilisation extérieure misérable, misérable aussi a dû être leur religion" (p. 474). But, "En réalité, autre chose est la Religion et la Morale, autre chose la richesse, l'industrie, l'art, la science, et ce qu'on est convenu d'appeler la 'Civilisation'. Et les simples mais pures éléments que nous avons trouvés comme constituant les fonds universels et communs peuvent parfaitement se concevoir en des hommes dépourvus des perfectionnements matériels que le progrès a plus tard apportés à la vie"[4] (ib.).

To have made the latter quotation here is also to have anticipated a conclusion at which Mgr. Le Roy arrives in the course of his careful study, but it will serve to introduce a subject of special interest and importance to the whole discussion. Every one has heard of the Pygmies whom Stanley encountered in the forests of Central Africa; not every one is aware that a dwarf race similar to the African Pygmies in those attributes which specify and give unity to an ethnological family, is found scattered over an immense area of the world's surface, and has left some trace even where it has died out. Mgr. Le Roy is convinced that, wherever found, these diminutive men constitute the surviving representatives of the earliest race of whom we have purely scientific knowledge. It is for this reason that he takes what he has learned from long and intimate contact with this dwarf people as the basis of his contention concerning the religion of primitive man, looking, however, to the widespread Bantu and other nations for further information by which to control his results and to fill up the lacunæ rendered inevitable by the characteristic reticence of the Pygmies themselves.

The earliest monuments of ancient civilization that have yet been discovered are those of Ancient Egypt; but the peo-

[4] Mgr. Le Roy appends the following note: "La même observation peut se faire en se qui concerne le peuple juif, supérieur à tous les autres au point de vue religieux, inférieur à beaucoup à tous les autres points de vue."

ple who left them to astonish the modern world were not the first to occupy the fertile valley of the Nile. They found already in possession a race which still survives, more or less pure, under the name of the Hamitic family. The Hamites themselves had supplanted the true Negroes who preceded them, whilst the latter had replaced the ancestors of the great Bantu [5] family, still occupying a vast extent of the African Continent. But earlier still than Bantu or Negro or Hamite there existed in Africa, and, according to the general opinion of modern anthropologists, in Asia and Oceania as well,[6] that same race of Pygmies, in precisely the condition which characterizes them to-day—nomadic, homeless, undeveloped, without the industries or institutions of civilization, living upon what Nature, not always kind, will give them without toil—who, figuring in the long past upon Egyptian obelisks, surprisingly afforded Mgr. Le Roy the means of dispelling, with a probability so high as to merge into certainty, the strange repellent phantom which modern evolutionists have evoked and called by the name of Primitive Man. "Plus vieux que le Sphinx, plus vieux que les Pyramides, plus vieux que tous les textes recueillis sur les papyrus, les os de chameau, le bronze, la brique et la pierre, sont donc ces Pygmées Africains dont nous avons recueilli le temoinage et qui, plus exactement que ne pourraient le faire les hiéroglyphes, nous ont livré leurs pensées vivants" (p. 412).

[5] "Ce mot . . . désigne le group linguistique qui occupe, on peut le dire, la plus grande partie de l'Afrique habitée, puisqu'il s'étend d'un océan à l'autre, et depuis le bassin supérieur du Nil et celui du Tchad jusqu'à l'Orange. Au point de vue physique, les Bantous présentent une grande variété de types provenant de mélanges anciens, au nord avec les Négrilles, les Nigritiens et les Hamites, au sud les Boschimans et Hottentots, mais on peut nèanmoins dégager parmi eux un caractére spécial, qui se distingue du Nigritien." Pp. 41 and 42.

[6] "En sorte que—et c'est aujourd'hui, semble-t-il, le sentiment commum des anthropologues — la première couche ethnique de tous ces pays serait constituée par cette petite race qui a laissé derrière elle nombre de témoins, et dont les principaux caractères se sont maintenus jusque aujourd'hui dans un certain nombre de représentants." Pp. 412, 413.

If, Mgr. Le Roy asks, the Continent of Africa was already peopled before the arrival of the dwarfs, how could these have succeeded in penetrating amongst the stronger populations of an immense territory so as to occupy the different points at which we find them to-day? If, on the other hand, they came first, and gradually dispersed as their numbers increased, each growing family being pushed by necessity to seek fresh pastures and new hunting-grounds, the explanation is easy. Other peoples have come in and occupied the land over which at first the Pygmies wandered free, and have split them up into those separate groups in which they now exist, or have driven them to the boundaries of the Continent, or absorbed them into their own tribes to form new and hybrid types.

Mgr. Le Roy has much to say of which space will not permit the reproduction here, concerning the extended habitat of the Pygmies, their fixity of physical and psychological type, their claim to be the original occupants and possessors of the earth, and the free recognition of this claim by other tribes; nor is it without having brought to bear the strong argument of observed facts that he comes to the following conclusion concerning the races whom he has studied, and particularly the Pygmies: " Il faut donc admettre que si les Primitifs d'aujourd'hui ne nous représentent plus les Primitifs des temps préhistoriques de la grande dispersion . . . ils sont cependant ceux de tous ces hommes qui nous en donnent la plus fidèle image " (pp. 432, 433).

II.

There remains now to indicate, as briefly as may be, the results of Mgr. Le Roy's work so far as they throw light upon the Religion of Primitive man. Leaving aside the Pygmies for the present, let us see what his careful observations have revealed of the religious condition of the Bantu and other peoples whose faith (*croyance*) is more overlaid with superstition than that of the dwarfs. For that there is a real religious belief at the " back of the black man's mind ", Mgr. Le Roy has no shadow of doubt. It is, in fact, the failure to

note the purely parasitical nature in relation to *religious* belief of Fetishism, and of Naturism, and Animism, so far as these exist among the native races, that has misled those authorities to whom, in the main, people have looked for information. Even where the most cruel and superstitious practices exist—and their horror has by no means been exaggerated by any class of observers—a careful inquiry shows that they are due either to ignorant misapplication by the black man of elementary principles truly and often very definitely apprehended by him; or to purely superstitious beliefs and usages which are in precisely the same relation to the religion of native races as magic is to the religion of civilized peoples.

What, then, is the Religion of the black man? Is it Naturism, Animism, Fetishism, or blank Idolatry? Whence has he got it? What is its effect on his life?

Their main assumption of the truth of the evolutionary theory as applied to the History of Religions, joined with the misconceptions which that theory has made so easy, has dictated the answer given to these questions by its adherents. The Primitive man *must have been* first Nature-worshipper, then Animist, afterwards a Fetish-worshipper, lastly an adorer of stocks and stones: hence we should expect to find these stages of primeval religious evolution exhibited in his representative to-day. And surely we do! For is it not quite evident that the savage fails to distinguish between the animate and inanimate in Nature; that he attributes to all things a consciousness and a will like those he vaguely feels within himself—a spirit or soul whose being in his own case is revealed to him by such phenomena as sleep and dreams? Does he not worship every natural object that through the mystery of its unexplained activities is capable of arousing in him the instinct of fear or reverence? Does not his religion, therefore, bear upon it plain traces of the time when his primitive ancestors knew no other worship or belief than were involved in a "kind of indistinct and chaotic Naturism"? Does he not go on to attach an inner spirit to all things in nature as the principle of that life and consciousness which he has attributed to them by analogy

drawn from his own personality,—so vaguely understood as this is, so little recognized as that which makes man the superior of all creation besides? And is not this Animism pure and simple? Then, from a desire to represent to himself those invisible spirits with which he has peopled earth and skies, and in some sort to appropriate them to himself, does he not make images of them, in which they may come to dwell,—the Fetish so universal amongst savage populations? Finally, does he not often fall into sheer idolatry by worshipping those images in and for themselves, becoming thus at once Idolater and Polytheist?[7]

But let us hear Mgr. Le Roy. He does not consider it necessary at this point to discuss the Biblical account of man's original condition. Though man was raised at the beginning to the state of original justice, Scripture itself records his fall. We are fully authorized, then, to suppose that some at least of the earliest tribes of men that peopled the earth on the great dispersion must have passed through an extreme of physical, mental, and moral degradation before developing by painful and slow degrees those ancient civilizations whose vestiges still remain.

But if the "untutored savage" represents that sad stage in the history of humanity, he is nothing like the miserable brute-man drawn by what is called "true science". He may not be able to count far, says Mgr. Le Roy, and the historical "learned pig" might surpass him there; but this is not for want of intelligence, which he displays readily enough in matters that concern him: it is merely from want of practice in a direction toward which he has had no reason to turn his mind.

For the rest, Mgr. Le Roy is not concerned to deny all that the moderns have said about the religious condition of savage races. It is the interpretation of facts rather than the facts themselves that he attacks; and his own thesis may be summed up in the statement that in Africa, as elsewhere, fundamental and true notions have been overlaid with superstitions having

[7] Mgr. Le Roy, pp. 65, 66.

their origin in the very religion of which they are a distortion; morality, in like manner, has suffered from an ignorant and mistaken application of the elementary teachings of conscience; while alongside of religion exists a counterfeit, to be most carefully distinguished both from the really genuine religion of the dark races and from its superstitious accretions. This counterfeit is nothing more nor less than Magic—a dark and dreadful shadow that has pursued and still pursues every religion that man has known.

In reality, the savage is a grown-up child. Taking this child of nature as he finds him, Mgr. Le Roy asks, What is his attitude toward the world around him, and toward that other world—the invisible world which fills so large a part of his thoughts? His attitude toward Nature is largely positive. He does not deeply philosophize. He has discovered secret virtues in things, and these he endeavors, often very successfully, to turn to his own uses. He has thus the beginnings of natural science. And if the strychnos shrub gives poison, and coffee stimulates, and the kola-nut strengthens, why should not the gall of the crocodile, the lion's fangs, or the leopard's whiskers have each their equally powerful effect? Herein Mgr. Le Roy sees the explanation of a host of remedies, preservatives, amulets, and other matters which have no more to do with religion than the horse-shoe hung over his door by many an English cottager. The savage believes, indeed, that Nature, of which he recognizes himself to be part, is full of powerful and mysterious forces which sometimes overcome and destroy him, and which sometimes he can tame. But this conception is not his religion, though he might be puzzled himself to draw the distinction, which nevertheless exists for him and is evident to the careful observer, between what are to him the things of " faith "—if one may use the word—and those that belong to his childish science of nature. So long as the forces of nature act normally, says Mgr. Le Roy, he does not greatly concern himself about them. It is only when something happens out of the ordinary course—a drought, the appearance of a comet, an eclipse of sun or moon—that he

becomes disquieted and, apprehending some disaster, has recourse to prayers and sacrifices and religious rites to placate the spirits who rule nature and whom he conceives to be offended.

Nor is the African a worshipper of Nature as his God. Nor does he worship sun or moon or stars. The moon, shining through the night with "purest ray serene" to light him to his festivals and dances, seems to him a friendly being, whose rise he welcomes gladly; but she is no goddess. He asks, like a child, the why and wherefore of the many changes that he observes in nature through the course of the seasons; and, like a child, he finds an answer. His answer is a fairy-tale, in which he believes just as seriously and no more seriously than a child believes in the history of Red Ridinghood or The Three Bears. The fact that sun and moon and stars, rivers, trees, and animals are personified, is no proof that they are deified. "Si leurs 'histoires' sont souvent fort intéressantes à qui sait y trouver ce qu'elles contiennent, au point de vue de la langue, des affinités entre tribus, d'un passé plus ou moins lointain, de certaines traditions, des usages, et même des croyances et pratiques religieuses ou magiques, on ne peut vraiment rien tirer de sérieux au point de vue qui nous occupe, du fait que ces récits personnifient accidentellement les êtres et les objets mis en scène" (pp. 77, 78). The attitude of the natives toward these stories would seem to be well exemplified in the negroes who, with the little boy, listened to Uncle Remus's wonderful tales about Br'er Rabbit and his friends.

Mgr. Le Roy brings a philological argument to prove that the savage knows perfectly well the difference between a living, self-moving object and the inanimate things of nature. To the latter, indeed, he attributes a vital principle; but one which dies with the object to which it pertains. The human soul, on the other hand, survives the death of the body. The Bantu languages, says Mgr. Le Roy, know no distinction of genders. The names of things are distributed into classes according to the natural categories in which the objects themselves are ranged. A system of prefixes—for all these lan-

guages are agglutinative—affecting both the noun and those words which in agreement depend upon it marks the category to which each thing belongs. Thus it is perfectly easy to tell from his speech to what category the Bantu ascribes any natural object—whether he regard it as living or non-living, endowed or unendowed with a soul, rational or irrational; whether it be great or small, abstract or concrete, and so forth. Using this unexceptionable test Mgr. Le Roy declares that to the Bantu sun and moon and stars, air, earth, trees, and minerals, lakes and rivers, belong to inanimate nature, not possessing conscious life and movement even in those tales in which for the moment they are personified. Inanimate things often indeed are looked upon as the residence of departed souls or spirits belonging to the other world, and for this reason are made the object of a veneration which has been as much misunderstood as the Catholic veneration of holy images: but in themselves they are clearly distinguished from beings that have in them a principle of self-movement. So far as the African does attribute to inanimate things an inner virtue, which gives them their specific "form" or *manière,* it is one, as we have seen, which perishes with them, and passes out of existence when they are destroyed. This is true even of plants and animals; and it is only the "reasonable soul" of man that survives the death of its bodily envelope. "Seulement," adds Mgr. Le Roy, "habituées à vivre dans un corps, ces âmes désincarnées aspirent à y rentrer; c'est pourquoi on sent leur présence ou leur action, parfois, dans les enfants de leur famille. . . . D'autre fois, elles vont habiter dans les animaux apparentés par alliance totemique à la tribu, dans certains arbres, dans certaines cavernes etc., partout, en un mot, où leur destinée les fixe" (p. 84). Besides departed souls, the savage believes in other spirits or genii, some benevolent, some malicious, who wander through space, or attach themselves to this or that spot or to some material object. The savage has his Manes, his Lares and Penates, his Larvae also and Lemures, and they appear throughout his interpretation of all Nature. These have their *cultus,* as in ancient

Rome; they are the cause and object of a whole system of various rites and observances; but the question is—Does the religion of the black man begin and end with this, or can we discover deeper down than all else, witnessed to by words and actions rarer, indeed, but far more significant than his dealings with the shades and spirits whom he partly reverences and partly dreads, a faith in some one higher, the Ruler of Nature herself, who even to the savage mind is remote from all things else, exalted above them all by incommunicable essence that none can share? It is even so; and the poor savage recognizes God; not the head of a hierarchy of lesser deities, but standing alone in his thoughts, unrivaled and supreme. It would be an error, of course, to suppose that these poor folk, whom Mgr. Le Roy so evidently loves, and whom he makes us love, have any elaborated perception of the Divine Nature; yet the root of the matter is in them; and a certain number of well-defined notions of God can be discerned by one who, like our informant, knows how and where to seek them. It is the same with their ideas of morality. There is more room here, since morals are an everyday practical affair, for those deviations from truth and right to which untaught man is sadly subject. But here, also, there is a true foundation, though the structure raised upon it is in many parts unsound.

Placed in a marvelous world—a world not trimmed and decked out by the arts of civilization—the black man feels a certain awe in the presence of Nature. As Mgr. Le Roy puts it, he is not *chez lui,* and like a child in a strange house he feels uneasy. Whose is it all? he asks. And his answer reveals the consciousness of a Master and Owner: One who gives life and takes it away, whose rights must always be recognized; the consciousness, moreover, of the evidence which Nature offers of a First Cause. From this conviction of a Lord of all things, Maker and Proprietor of the earth, have arisen two institutions everywhere met with—the sacred interdict or Tabu, and the offering of sacrifice by way of recognizing the rights of Him to whom all things belong. Nature

is at man's disposal; but there are some things he may not touch; and before he uses what has been given him he must offer somewhat to the Giver. Here Mgr. Le Roy is able to appeal again to his language as revealing the true mind of the savage. Whilst the black man designates the human soul by analogous terms taken from man's physical nature, using such words as "life", "breath", "shade"; while, by a contrary process which shows his grasp of some distinction between the departed spirit of man and those other non-human spirits in whom he believes, he speaks of these in phraseology taken from invisible elements in nature, such as the wind, the air, the breeze; God is named by some epithet which to the savage mind represents one or another attribute peculiar to the Deity, or which marks His dwelling-place, His greatness or His power. Thus God is "He who speaks", "He who sets in order", "He who makes". Or again "The Powerful One", "The Dweller on High", "The Master", etc. Yet it is not to be supposed that the idea of God, although it is nowhere entirely absent, is everywhere equally precise or active. "C'est en quelque sorte une connaissance diffuse qui, sur certains points et à certains moments, se caractérise avec une netteté qui étonne, et qui, ailleurs et dans le cours ordinaire de la vie, reste flottante et comme abandonnée à elle-même" (p. 180). Moreover, Mgr. Le Roy sees evidences in the Bantu languages that the race has gone backward in regard to its apprehension of God: "La langue ou les langues bantoues, en effet, sont plus précises, plus significatives et plus affirmatives dans la désignation de Dieu et de ses attributes que ne sont généralement, à l'epoque actuelle, dans l'expression de leurs croyances, les peuples qui les parlent" (ib.).

It is not possible to follow Mgr. Le Roy through the numerous facts which he brings forward to illustrate the fundamental beliefs of native races in Africa: the conclusions which follow he notes as of special interest; and each is borne out by what he has personally observed. In no part of Africa is God looked upon as susceptible of influence or of localization by means of any magical charms or by incantations such as

are used to invoke and appease souls, genii, or spirits. Magic is one thing: religion another. Nowhere is God represented under any material image, nor held to dwell in any Fetish, temple, grove, or cavern. Real Idolatry—the worship, that is, of a figure representing God, or itself looked upon as God—does not exist. That which does exist is a certain cultus of images or Fetishes in which souls or spirits are supposed to reside, and over which they exercise their influence. If, like the Latins, we speak of these spirits as "gods", that is a confusion into which the black man does not fall. Nor is God blasphemed. He is not adored, indeed, "in spirit and in truth"; and herein is shown the need of the Gospel. The savage will complain that God is hard or indifferent when some calamity falls upon him; but he does not dream of addressing words of disrespect or injury to his Maker.

Enough perhaps has been said to show how false is the notion which confuses the superstitions of the black man with his fundamental religion. Still more distant from the truth is the idea that magic, universally reprobated by public sentiment amongst the blacks, has anything to do with religious beliefs. Although magical practices are prevalent to a fearful extent, yet the sorcerer is the best hated man in Africa, and frequently pays with his life the penalty of his real or supposed crimes.

A bare mention must here suffice of Mgr. Le Roy's interesting study of family institutions amongst the African tribes, and of the Totem as involving a pact by which alliance of blood is established with other peoples, or with the tutelary spirits that preside over various species of animals. The family and religion are bound up one with another. What true beliefs exist, are enshrined in the family and preserved by family institutions in the tribe, which is but the family enlarged. Family and religion thus lend mutual support to one another. The patriarchal system is very largely in vogue; and the head of the family, the chief of the tribe, the king of the nation, are in their respective places priests and intermediaries between the natural and supernatural worlds. Priest-

hood is also, in some instances, a profession apart from headship of family or clan; but this is a development. The basis of morality is found in a universal sense of justice; justice between man and man; and justice toward the invisible powers. Hence the Tabu, which meets the black man at every step and is for ever saying: "Don't". Nor are all the prohibitions of the Tabu mere mistaken applications of the elementary rules of right and wrong. Many "sins" are indeed merely ceremonial; but wrong-doing to others, murder, incest, adultery, sorcery, and similar offences are recognized as such, and are punishable by law. Since he has no care for personal moral perfection, the savage does not trouble himself much about faults which concern himself alone: yet here, too, Mgr. Le Roy believes that conscience speaks to the black man as well as to the white. The Tabu is founded upon a recognition of the rights of a world invisible, and thus presupposes religious notions. To derive religion from the Tabu, then, is literally preposterous. The comparative strictness of marriage laws and customs as preservative of the family and tribe afford Mgr. Le Roy an opportunity for interesting developments in regard to the close connexion of family life in all its departments with religious belief and practice; and he shows how reasonably we may suppose this connexion to be the means by which religious truth is preserved from generation to generation. There is no sign in Africa of that promiscuity of sexual relations which modern science has attributed to the childhood of our race. The actuality reminds us much more of patriarchal life amongst the peoples of the Old Testament than of anything which evolution has been made to call up from the past.

Here we must needs stop, and in conclusion ask what is Mgr. Le Roy's lesson to us concerning the main object of his inquiry—the Religion of Primitive Man? In answering this question he recalls the truly remarkable fact that amongst the Pygmies who, as we have seen, may be taken to represent primitive man more closely than any existing race, religious ideas are purer and freer from the additions of superstition

than amongst those peoples who are higher in the scale of civilization. Passing in review the religions of other ancient nations of the world, he finds again that the later religions are less pure than the earlier, and can point to the high civilizations of Greece and Rome to show how false is the supposition that culture and true belief go always hand in hand. Finally —and this is the fact on which the apologetic value of his work is summed up—Mgr. Le Roy considers as "définitivement acquis" the universality, permanence, and fundamental identity of true religion throughout all races of the world and in every epoch of the history of mankind. Beneath all accretions, despite all distortions, the essential characteristics of religion are everywhere found—belief in a Divinity as Master of the destinies of men, a Monotheism purer as the race is more ancient; prayer and sacrifice offered, not solely to spirits and genii, but also to the supreme God;[8] a morality based on the notion of justice; marriage and the family as a sacred and religious institution; prohibitions, partly ceremonial, partly of a truly moral character repressive of many evil instincts in man; and, less commonly indeed, but existent, the idea of future rewards and punishments in another world. Together with these things, and forming the dark side of the picture are mythologies, magic—the counterfeit of religion—wrong applications of the moral law, abuse, for private interests, of the Tabu, childish attempts to influence the multitude of spirits human and non-human,—all which have given rise to the misconceptions of which Mgr. Le Roy complains: but

[8] The following is a kind of litany used on the occasion of sacrifice by the Wa-pokomo, a tribe of East Africa; the priest and people recite the petitions alternately:—

O Dieu, nous te demandons!
O Mânes, nous vous demandons!
O Ancêtres, nous vous demandons!
Dieu, donne nous la paix!
Donne nous la tranquillité. Et que le bonheur vienne!
Celui qui ensorcelle notre village, qu'il meure!
Celui qui profère contre nous un sort mauvais, qu'il meure! etc., etc., p. 299.

the truth is not wholly obscured, and God has still His witness in the hearts and minds of His less fortunate children.

What then is the origin of this truly universal religion? And what is its relation to that other which also goes by the name of "universal"—the Holy Catholic Faith that has of late so happily spread amongst the nations of Africa? To the first question three replies may be suggested, each of which may be true, and each of which a Catholic may adopt.[9] These primary elements of religion, found in humanity from prehistoric times, either were revealed by supernatural intervention, or were the spontaneous product of the human mind teaching humanity of Him who made the spirit of man; or lastly, may we not combine the two and say that supernatural action has come to the aid of nature and supplemented nature's witness to the unseen—"l'esprit humain agissant dans la plénitude des facultés qui lui ont été données, et la Providence divine l'éclairant, le fortifiant, le soutenant, et le dirigeant, au cours des âges, directement ou indirectement, malgré toutes les causes de troubles, d'erreurs et de perversion qui l'entourent" . . . ? (p. 466). For man fell, and we have not the means of knowing how far the primitive divine revelation was kept in memory outside that chosen race whom God made the depositary of revealed Truth. Moreover, as Mgr. Le Roy points out, the Church herself has condemned that school of thought which under the names of Traditionalism and Fideism would restrict all human knowledge of things divine to what has been supernaturally revealed. With due subjection, then, to the decisions of authority, a Catholic may freely choose between the solutions here set forth. For the rest, Mgr. Le Roy shows good reason for neglecting certain arguments which are supposed to preclude us from giving revelation some place, at least, in the origin and preservation of religious and moral truth among the heathen. M. l'Abbé Bros is quoted as pointing out the great improbability that savage races should have retained the memory of a primitive

[9] Mgr. Le Roy, p. 467.

revelation through unknown ages. "Sans doute. Mais n'est-ce pas tomber aussi dans un invraisemblable anthropomorphisme que de se représenter ainsi la Révélation? On dirait que Dieu, pour instruire les premiers hommes, a dû venir leur faire une série de conférences sous les bananiers de l'Eden, puis, la leçon finie, est rentré au ciel, son catéchisme sous le bras" . . . (!) (p. 475). Becoming serious again, Mgr. Le Roy reminds us of St. Paul's saying: "*Multifariam, multisque modis*", and that there are many ways in which God can speak to men; how also, since neither the religion nor the moral ideas of primitive races contain anything *per se* beyond the capacities of human reason and conscience, *un secours surnaturel ordinaire,* which will never be wanting to men of good will, would be sufficient to account for the initiation and continued existence of elementary religious truth.

As his last word, Mgr. Le Roy reminds us that the Christian, Catholic religion is, in reality, as old as the world itself. There is not, in fact, a duality existing between the truth outside her borders, and the truth within—or rather who shall say where is the border line of that Church to which every soul of man may belong by good will and faithfulness to the light that he has, if not by visible communion. For the souls "in good faith" are known only to God. We might have dwelt upon the striking analogies with Catholicism exhibited in almost every heathen land, and noted by Mgr. Le Roy in Africa—analogies not only in belief but in practice also, bearing eloquent witness to the fact that revelation fulfils, by no means destroys; that grace perfects and does not abolish what is good in man's nature; but space will not permit. There is, indeed, but one true Religion possible in the world; that one which, taught in its elements to every man by reason and by conscience, is brought out in all the fulness of its inexhaustible contents in the revelation of Jesus Christ laid up in that Church whose witness, like the sun, irradiates the shadows that gather about the fair form of the one and only Truth.

H. G. HUGHES.

Norwich, England.

NEGLECT OF MISSIONS IN LITERATURE.

WHAT place do missions hold in our literature is the question Fr. Robert Streit, O.M.I., undertakes to answer in an unpretentious pamphlet which recently appeared in Germany under the title: *Die theologisch-wissenschaftliche Missionskunde* (Paderborn, 1909). This treatise, dealing with German missionary literature in book form, is the sequel to a former study on German missionary magazines by the same author: *Die deutsche Missionsliteratur* (Paderborn, 1907).

While Fr. Streit confines himself exclusively to the literary output of Germany, deploring the scant space thus far given to the consideration of missions, his criticism and complaint may, with equal or still greater justification, be advanced against the literature of other countries. Though this disregard for a subject of paramount importance is so apparent in German literature, how much more noticable is the absolute neglect in English Catholic literature, which can boast of nothing on the subject beyond a few periodicals, pamphlets, and some antiquated works on missions?

In view of the growing interest in missions among English-speaking Catholics, the present pamphlet is deserving of closer examination, furnishing as it does convincing evidence that in this subject of missions there lies a rich field very much neglected by Catholic writers and professors. As the general principles laid down by the author apply to all Catholic literature, irrespective of language or country, a substantial résumé of his timely work will prove more satisfactory than the quotation of striking passages.

I.

Theology should aim to study religion in its universal bearing; in its historical and practical expression in the life of the Church as well as in its principles and doctrines. But one of the most notable and characteristic features of the developing Church in every age has been her missionary activity. Ever since receiving the divine commission: "Going therefore, teach ye all nations", the Catholic Church has instinctively

taken missions as a matter of course, as a given task which it was her natural and evident duty to perform. As a consequence, her evangelistic work has been steadfastly adhered to and advanced throughout the centuries. In fact, failing in this, she would have impaired her vital claim to Catholicity.

Now, this missionary activity, inspired by faith and prompted by a habitual sense of duty and necessity, is based upon definite doctrines. It has its aims, its methods, its historical development; and to examine these systematically, with a view to a better understanding and deeper appreciation of the traditional work of the Church, evidently lies within the province of that science whose scope is not merely to study the theory of the gospel but also the ways and means employed in past and present times of bringing it to the knowledge of men.

In fact, circumstances and the times may positively demand that theology treat of the missions *ex professo* and not merely content itself by referring to them on stated occasions in a laudatory vein. It is not Fr. Streit's present purpose to show how this is to be accomplished, but rather, as stated above, to make clear what little consideration missions have thus far received from German theologians and writers.

We are somewhat surprised to learn that there is no independent, comprehensive work treating of missions from the theological and scientific standpoint. Some few attempts have been made along this line but they are hardly worth noticing. The first venture came from the pen of a woman: Em. Huch's *Bis an die Enden der Erde.*[1] The authoress treats of the duty of propagating the faith, first, dwelling upon the ground of this obligation; secondly, showing who are held to this duty, viz., popes, bishops, priests, and people, and thirdly, enlarging upon the educational value of sympathy and interest in the work of converting the heathen.

The booklet of Hermann Fischer, S.V.D.,[2] contains a popular religious exposition of the missionary command of Jesus,

[1] *To the Ends of the Earth*, Frankenstein, 1903.

[2] *Jesu letzter Wille* (*The Last Will of Jesus*), Steyl, 1906.

its relation to the Apostles, the Catholic Church, and the Papacy, its practical and beneficent consequences for individual Christians particularly of our own time.

Hahn wrote a brief theological treatise on the missions which serves as introduction to his work entitled *Geschichte der Katholischen Missionen.*[3]

In a foot-note Fr. Streit makes mention of a work just published, *Jesus und die Heiden Mission.*[4] The favorable notices of Protestants and Catholics alike attest the genuine worth of this scientific Catholic production, the first of its kind, and one destined to remain a standard work on the missions. This completes the list of works on the subject.

Missions, we are assured, have likewise received but very scant recognition in theological scientific magazines. The author simply cites two articles in the *Katholik* entitled respectively "Die Pflicht der Glaubensverbreitung" (The Duty of Spreading the Faith, 1901), and "Ueber die Weltmission des Christenthums" (The World-Mission of Christianity, 1903). Occasional numbers found in other magazines, e. g., *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* have more of a historical and polemical character.

Fr. Streit next directs his inquiry to theological text-books on dogma, apologetics, and kindred subjects bearing on the science of missions. He enumerates twenty-seven original works, giving exact references of such eminent authors as Sheeben, Jungmann, Simar, Hettinger, Heinrich, Gutberlet, Hurter, v. Hammerstein, Weiss, Schanz, Schneider, Weber, etc. Translations of the works of Chateaubriand, Balmes, and Wiseman, are also added to the list. Other writers too, as Janssen, Einig, Pesch, Pohle, etc., were consulted, but as they either ignore the subject or treat it meagerly no references to them are given.

The author specially commends Sheeben for offering the best suggestions for a scientific treatment of the missions and

[3] *History of Catholic Missions;* Cologne, 1857.

[4] *Jesus and the Heathen Missions,* Muenster, 1909.

for pointing out that in the Protestant conception of divine revelation lies a fundamental protest against all missionary activity, making all religious propaganda superfluous; Heinrich for presenting an unusually large supply of material; Hurter for his references to the Fathers; v. Hammerstein for enlarging upon the social work of missions; Schanz for indicating sources of great value, and Hilgers for his exposition of missionary methods. In conclusion Fr. Streit tells us that he chose this rather dry enumeration of authors, quoting their chapters on the missions, in order to bring out more prominently the fact of his dearth of literary resource and appreciative interest up to the present time in a matter so germane to theological investigation.

II.

And still a more extensive study of this subject is a matter of great necessity and would be of equally great usefulness to theology, apologetics, and the missions.

IMPORTANCE OF THE STUDY TO THEOLOGY.

(a) Without due appreciation of missions, the mission-problem of Christianity in its full importance must ever remain unknown. What little is said of missions in theological text-books has reference principally to the pagan nations of the so-called classical period of antiquity, and presents only a part of the Christian mission-problem. These nations, though pagan, were civilized. They were about on a level of civilization with one another, sharing in greater or less degree through contact with the Israelites the divine heritage of revelation, and were, therefore, not thrown wholly upon their own resources. How very different is the condition of the primitive races toward which modern missionary efforts are still chiefly directed. Does not the black race in particular present to Christianity some of its greatest problems?

(b) Without a proper knowledge of missions, the world's history as well as the race problem which Christianity is to solve in the course of time must remain unintelligible. In an old-fashioned way theologians allude to the missions in con-

nexion with the catholicity of the Church, drawing their material from the earlier, if not the earliest, history of the missions. But aside from the fact that we possess no scientific history of even the earlier missionary labors, the high mission of Christianity toward the human race does not find its fullest expression in those missionary epochs. The early mission dealt with a homogeneous race; it had to present to the pagans of the time its ideals only. How very differently constituted is the field of labor for modern missions, and how much more difficult the task manifestly assigned to them by Divine Providence. How wonderful that Providence appears in the light of the Christian missionary epochs. Christianity at first encountered civilized pagan nations possessed of similar racial traits. It next faced nations without or with culture of a lower degree, but still of the same racial character. Later it was brought to nations civilized, but of a different race. To-day Christianity must deal with nations devoid of civilization and totally unlike in racial characteristics. Thus the problem of Christianizing the human race has waxed more complicated and difficult with the progress of time and still remains to be solved by missionary labors.

Too lightly, therefore, does theology with a few general observations dispose of the subject of modern missions. It is most unsatisfactory, for instance, to hear only in an indefinite way of the growth of the Church in America, Africa, Asia, Australia.

Reading invariably the names of the same missionaries, e. g. St. Francis Xavier; finding the burden of the marvelous things recounted of the missions to rest only upon "great numbers", we are unfavorably reminded of the traditional, the stereotyped, the unprogressive. It seems a pity that theologians (e. g. Hurter, 1891) still refer to Marshall, whose work is antiquated and more polemical than scientifically historical, and that even more recent apologetical treatises quote unreliable statistics.

(c) Without due valuation of missions it is utterly impossible to grasp the truths of faith in their widest meaning and

fullest practical application. All authors speak of the necessity of revelation for mankind, but few deduce from this the obligation of presentation and mediation incumbent upon the bearer and custodian of the deposit. They maintain the right of the Church to convey the message of salvation to all peoples, and of all times, but they fail to emphasize her corresponding duties. Moreover, the science of missions touches the most difficult questions in theology; it is involved with the fundamental truths of Christianity. We need but instance the necessity of revelation, grace, the sacraments, and the Church for the salvation of a pagan world.

In the perspective of Christian missions we better realize how wonderful are the ways of Divine Providence in guiding the world; how sublime and lovingly merciful the Saviour's work of salvation; how fruitful His own doctrine and example; and how vast, too, the tasks and duties which devolve upon the Church in her capacity of teacher and dispenser of grace—tasks which can be accomplished only through missionary labor and enterprise.

Importance of the Study to Apologetics.

For Catholic apologetics a comprehensive study of the missionary movement is a *conditio sine qua non*. The Catholic apologist has a twofold task. Christianity must be conserved against the influences of paganism and the Catholic Church defended in opposition to other Christian denominations. While in his defence of Christianity the apologist might possibly content himself with alluding to the earlier missions only, yet in vindicating the claims of the Catholic Church he must reckon with present-day problems, and our modern missions must furnish the weapons and material for argument.

Importance of the Study to the Missions.

In proportion as missionary fields grow wider, problems more complex, competition more keen, and opposition more violent, the necessity and duty of scientific exposition become more imperative. It is idle to speak of missions without exact and thorough knowledge of the subject. While undoubtedly

it is very edifying to dwell upon missionary heroism and self-sacrifice this can make but a transient appeal to interest and sympathy, and will not be productive of that conviction which springs from perception of a worthy cause and a sense of duty toward it. Our obligation to coöperate actively with missionary enterprise must be made manifest, not by tiresome allusion to Math. 28: 19, but by theological and scientific argument, forceful enough to engage the attention and enlist the material support of the better-educated classes. Fr. Streit would particularly emphasize the point that the proper activity of workers in the field afar would furnish us at home with scientifically-useful material, which should be elaborated not only by official missionary organs, but also by theologians and apologists. Furthermore, theological writers cannot ignore Protestant missionary endeavor. They must be prepared to offer some explanation of the steady progress of Protestant missions other than the customary reference to their large financial resources. Much light is thrown upon the question of success by considering missionary methods. Then, too, political events and religious conditions at home have exerted a very marked influence upon the whole missionary movement of the present day. There is lamentable need of a history of missions which would take into account these two very important factors.

The author concludes the present chapter by insisting upon the urgent need of scientific exposition, and deplores the want of a proper missionary organ for the study of mission-theory and methods. However, he is gratified to record an increasing interest in the entire subject, in evidence of which he refers to the following themes proposed for the pastoral examinations in the archdiocese of Cologne in 1908: "Origin, Doctrine, and Spread of Islamism", "Modern Missionary Activity of the Church in Africa."

III.

In the third and last chapter of his pamphlet Fr. Streit reviews German Protestant contributions to missionary litera-

ture. We are informed that Protestant missions are a strictly modern institution. "Not only practical missionary works, but the very thought of missions, as understood to-day, we seek in vain among the reformers, as Luther, Melanchthon, Bucer, Zwingli, Calvin, Beza. Their apathy was not merely due to the fact that the transatlantic, newly-discovered world lay beyond their horizon, but also to their fundamental views in theology which restrained their activities or even their thoughts from any missionary impulse" (Warneck). "The age of orthodoxy" (seventeenth century) wrought no change in the official attitude toward missionary endeavor. Theology suppressed the mission-thought, sternly opposing any chance manifestation of it. Kawerau devotes a special study to the question: "Why the German Evangelical Church of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries lacked a full understanding of the mission-thoughts of Holy Writ".

It was not until the eighteenth century, the age of pietism, that a Protestant movement in favor of missions was started. The promoters were found among the laity, for the established church remained hostile to the growing missionary spirit and pastors held themselves aloof. The old theological scruples had vanished, while rationalism, which had infected ecclesiastical circles, as well as theology viewed the re-awakened spiritual life as a retrograde movement and missions inspired by the revival as arrogant fanaticism (Warneck). Notwithstanding these unfavorable conditions the mission-movement steadily progressed, and while rationalism was in ever-increasing measure exerting its disintegrating influence upon the Church, missionary enterprise became the rendezvous for orthodox elements. To-day it may be truly said that the Protestant missions alone represent the traditional Protestant Bible-faith.

A change of attitude toward the missions came about in the second half of the nineteenth century. By degrees the former opposition of the official church gave way to complacent approval, ready coöperation and deepest interest, official organs even becoming earnest promoters of the mission-spirit and

working hand-in-hand with private organizations for the good of the cause. Finally the services of theology were enlisted; and what thus far had possessed merely a devotional aspect, took on a scientific character; the sense of duty superseded the purely-voluntary spirit, and what had been more or less a mere side-issue became a matter of principle. "It is high time," wrote Warneck in 1897, "for theology to take up the study of the missions. Barring a few treatises of a business or theoretical character and occasional lectures at the universities, the official representatives of theology have produced no standard works, and the science of the missions has not yet been incorporated into the regular course of studies at any German University."

Such criticism seems to have produced its desired effect, for but a few years later we note a decided change in the tone of writers. "Things have changed. Theology can no longer afford to ignore the great importance of heathen missions whether from necessity of a scientific knowledge of Christianity or in the interest of the religious life of the Church at home. We have entered upon an age which seriously tries to consider the mutual relations of theology and the missions; which scientifically investigates and supports them; and which earnestly strives to vivify, broaden, and fructify theology through the missions" (Professor W. Bornemann, 1902). "Theology no longer considers it undignified to devote special attention to the marvelous manifestation of effective Christian charity, as evidenced in the missions. This change of attitude is only in its beginning, but it is a fact and that is gratifying" (Professor K. Bornhaeuser, 1903).

Schleiermacher (1843) was the first among German Protestant theologians to incorporate the subject of missions in the system of theology, thereby giving a first impulse to its scientific treatment. In recent years the number of Protestant works has increased to such an extent that one may truthfully say that the "Science of Missions" *does exist* among Protestants.

Fr. Streit quotes some thirty-four works published from

1841 to 1896. As some of these are quite elaborate and scientific, at least in name, the statement of Warneck (1897), quoted above, would seem to need some modifications. In addition the author mentions some thirty other works of various magnitude, and two translations, published from 1897 to date. From the titles and tables of contents it is quite evident that the missionary problem has been very thoroughly surveyed from almost every viewpoint by Protestant theologians in this respect, far surpassing Catholic writers, who have given this vast matter but meagre consideration. Still, "Missions," to quote the words of one of the foremost Protestant writers, "form a very important chapter in the world's history, particularly in the history of the Church, and there can be no doubt that the education of a theologian must be judged to be very imperfect if he has no knowledge of, or is only partially acquainted with, the spread of Christianity in apostolic times and during the Middle Ages. And the third or modern missionary period is not less important than former centuries" (Warneck).

In conclusion, the words of Professor Bornemann addressed to students of theology whom he wished to impress with the importance of the study of missions, may well serve as an inspiration and appeal to wider circles for greater interest in fields afar, always cultivated in practice, by the Church, it is true, but woefully neglected in literature. "Missions," he says, "remind us of the magnificent, general character of the Gospel. They reveal great and practical aims; they are ever pushing onward, certain of victory as springtime and youth. If we Evangelicals have allowed ourselves to be cheated out of the beautiful '*name* of *Catholic*' by the Roman Church, in missions [we have] the *realization* of *genuine catholicity*, the historic fulfilment of the world-embracing, world-conquering, universal character of the Gospel. Can we, therefore, afford to keep the study of the missions excluded from our theological curriculum, as a matter alien or of minor importance?"

L. J. KNAPP, D.C.L.

JOAN OF ARC.

Blessed Joan of Arc and the Order of Preachers.

IT is a matter for comment that comparatively few English lives of the Maid of Orleans have been written by Catholics. Lives of Joan of Arc have appeared, but most of them are from the pens of non-Catholics, while many of them are written from a viewpoint which is antagonistic to Catholicism. In the opinion of some of these writers, no language is severe enough or sufficiently strong in which to condemn the ecclesiastical tribunal before which Joan was tried and by which she was sentenced to be burnt at the stake: and the Order of Preachers not infrequently receives full measure of censure, just because some of its members were associated with the other judges as Inquisitors.

Now it is remarkable that at each of the critical periods of her life Joan was brought into contact with the Dominicans. When she left her home in Domremy never to return, and came to the French Court at Chinon, she was sent to Poitiers to be examined by a tribunal which had been convened by Regnault de Chartres, Archbishop of Rheims. Amongst the members of that tribunal were three Dominicans. When she was taken prisoner at Compiègne and was sent to Rouen, we find other members of the Order amongst the commission which tried her. When the iniquitous sentence was pronounced, there were Dominicans at hand to cheer and comfort her in prison and at the stake. Finally, after seventeen years of forgetfulness, it was largely owing to the ability and zeal of another Dominican that the task of revising the whole process of her trial and condemnation was brought to a successful issue, and that the innocence, heroism, and sanctity of the Maid were established and proclaimed.

No one attempts to exculpate Pierre Cauchon, Bishop of Beauvais, whose own words prove how determined he was to bring about Joan's condemnation. The other judges who sat with him were his creatures, men of the same stamp and quite as unscrupulous. No one desires to exonerate them. They

stand condemned for all time. But on the other hand no one has any right to say that the Dominicans were opposed to Joan just because one of them, Jean Lemaître, allowed himself to be terrorized by Cauchon into assisting at some of the sessions of the trial in the capacity of Vice-Inquisitor. Lemaître showed weakness, if not cowardice, in consenting to be present at the trial, for we must not forget that the trial was altogether out of order and illegal. Joan had been examined by Cauchon's Metropolitan before she began her mission, and the Bishop of Beauvais had consequently no right whatever to hold an inquiry into an affair which had already been settled by his superior.

But if Lemaître was weak, his weakness is more than compensated for by the conduct of others of his brethren.

I.

When Baudricourt, the Governor of Vaucouleurs, heard Joan's simple, direct statement that she had been bidden by her "Voices" to set out for the relief of her country, he was naturally somewhat amazed. He sent her to Chinon, however, where the Dauphin held his court. He and his court were just as perplexed as Baudricourt had been, at the assertion of a gentle peasant-girl, who knew not "how to ride a horse or wield a sword", that she had been appointed by God to set her country free. She was treated as a visionary or a simpleton: but Joan persisted in her statements, though she had ever but one and the same answer to give to all questions: God had sent her and she had obeyed the call.

We can understand the reserve which the advisers of Charles showed, and the desire they had to know more about the Maid who claimed to have come at the direct command of God. By command of Charles, Regnault de Chartres, Archbishop of Rheims and Chancellor of France, instituted an ecclesiastical tribunal to examine the life, conduct, and alleged visions of Joan. The sittings of the tribunal were held in a house which was situated in the present "Rue de la Cathédrale". Amongst those summoned by the Archbishop were Fathers Seguin de

Seguin, Guillaume Aymèric, and Pierre Turelure, members of the Order of Preachers. The one who has left the fullest record of the proceedings is Seguin, whom the chronicle calls "a very harsh man". He was a Licentiate of the University of Paris and Lector of Theology in the Convent of Poitiers, and he bears witness to the fourfold prophecy of Joan: that Orleans would be relieved; that the English power in France would be overthrown; that the king would be crowned at Rheims; and that Paris would submit to the French monarch: "And I who speak," says Seguin, "have seen the fulfilment of these things."[1] "As regards my own opinion," he continues, "I believed she was sent of God, since at the time she came the king and the people had lost all hope, and did not even dream of victory."

Seguin and his brethren were in a majority at this examination held in 1429 at Poitiers; consequently the report which was drawn up for presentation to Charles is a gauge of the opinion they had formed of Joan. That report is altogether favorable to Joan and her mission, and the members of the Council of Poitiers urged the uncrowned king to obey the Maid as he would follow the inspirations of the Holy Ghost.[2]

Raoul de Sauvaige is a Dominican whose name appears in an act condemning the statements of the Maid, dated 12 April, 1431. Raoul was a Bachelor of Theology, and in company with sixteen Doctors and five other Bachelors of Theology, he condemned the statements of Joan *such as they appear;* in other words, he subscribed his name to an act of condemnation of what was nothing else but a garbled résumé of the answers Joan had given to questions, which Ysambard de la Pierre protests "would have puzzled even theologians and educated people", not to mention a simple peasant girl. He had been more or less opposed to Joan in the beginning on account of her alleged replies and statements, but his opposition ceased

[1] *La Guerre de Cent Ans: Jeanne d'Arc et les Dominicains,* par Le R. P. Marie-Dominique Chapotin, O.P. Deuxième édition. Pp. 135. ff. Paris: Lecoffre. 1889.

[2] Text of the Report quoted by Chapotin, *ut supra,* p. 138.

later, and he it was who first pointed out to Joan the sure way of escape by suggesting that she should appeal to the Holy See.[3]

Jean Vallée, another Dominican, assisted at the session which was held 27 March, 1431, but in the quality of a spectator rather than as an active member of Cauchon's tribunal, for he neither asked any questions, nor did he offer any advice.[4]

None of these three Dominicans can be taken as opponents of Joan. Seguin acknowledged that he believed in her: Raoul, though at first somewhat adverse to her, or rather to certain statements which were supposed to have been made by her, afterwards became her ally: while the most that can be said of Jean Vallée is that he held himself neutral. Of Martin Ladvenu, Ysambard de la Pierre, and Jean Bréhal we shall speak later. We desire first to examine the action of the two members of the Order who give any appearance of truth to the assertion that the Dominicans were inimical to Joan. These two are Jean Graverend, the Inquisitor General, and the Vice-Inquisitor, Jean Lemaître, or Le Maistre, as his name is sometimes written.

Jean Graverend, as Prior of Saint-Jacques at Paris, was in the position of superior of a monastery in a city that was in the hands of an alien power. He took the oath of allegiance to the existing Government, and one of his sermons shows that he shared the false ideas which the English and the enemies of Joan held in her regard. Yet he refused to take any part in the trial of the Maid when Cauchon requested him to be present, excusing himself on various pretexts. Why he did excuse himself we cannot say, but probably it was on account of his oath of allegiance by which he bound himself "to live peacefully and in obedience to the king of France and England." But if Graverend would not, because he could not in conscience, proceed against Joan, or become a tool in the hands of her enemies, it was his duty to protest against any

[3] Ibid., p. 148.

[4] Ibid., p. 149.

trial being held, and he should not have permitted any other Inquisitor subject to him to take part in the proceedings, much less have delegated one. As the official guardian of the Faith, whose presence was necessary at any trial where faith was in question, to render the trial valid and legal, Graverend was bound to act. He failed to do so, and for this he is to blame. His abstention was culpable when energetic action was so necessary. But he is blameworthy on another head, namely, in allowing the Inquisitor, Jean Lemaître, to be present at the trial, and for having yielded to the solicitations of Pierre Cauchon who requested Graverend to appoint Lemaître as his delegate.

Pierre Cauchon knew only too well that the presence of an Inquisitor was necessary for the validity and to give some show of justice to the proceedings. Lemaître was Vice-Inquisitor for the city and diocese of Rouen, and it is not too much to say that no man was more unwilling to take part in the trial than he was. He protested that, having been appointed Vice-Inquisitor for the city and diocese of Rouen, he had no authority to assist at any trial instituted by the Bishop of Beauvais. This was on 19 February. The following day Cauchon asserted that "those to whom he made known Lemaître's objection were of opinion that the Vice-Inquisitor could take part in the proceedings". Lemaître again refused to do so "for his peace of conscience and the regularity of the proceedings", unless he received "special powers from his superiors", but declared himself satisfied to have the case go forward until he should have received permission to be present. Once more Lemaître was offered full knowledge of the process, and this time he gave conditional consent. Cauchon wrote to the Inquisitor-General to request the delegation of Lemaître. On 4 March, a special commission held at Coutances appointed him delegate, and Lemaître received notification of his appointment on 12 March. Next day he assisted for the first time at the trial of Joan of Arc.[5]

[5] Chapotin, pp. 141-143; Cf. *Jean Bréhal et La Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*, par les Pères Belon et Balme, O. P. Lethielleux: Paris. 1893. Pp. 134-5.

But we meet with a curious proceeding of Cauchon relative to Lemaître's presence at the trial. As we have already stated, the presence of an Inquisitor was necessary in those days at any trial which was a *casus fidei,* to render the proceedings valid. Now we have seen that Lemaître was summoned by Cauchon on 19 February to attend in his capacity of Inquisitor, and that he attended for the first time at the session which was held on 13 March, yet we find his name beside that of Cauchon on the acts of the Process from 9 January. Cauchon presided at the sessions held on that date and during the interval until 13 March, and he inscribed, or caused to be inscribed, the name of the Vice-Inquisitor as if he were present, actually before he had even summoned him to attend.[6] This action of the Bishop of Beauvais is, in plain language, forgery; and it is a side-light upon the unscrupulous character of the man who condemned Joan of Arc to the stake.

When Lemaître did assist at the sessions it was as a passive, rather than as an active, member of the judicial bench. Mauchon says that he "took part in the proceedings with great unwillingness", and Massieu tells us that Lemaître's apathy and want of energy stirred up the anger of Cauchon to such a pitch that he threatened him with death!

The only time that Lemaître interfered personally was on 24 May, when he visited Joan in prison and persuaded her to save her life by assuming a woman's dress instead of the soldier's dress which she was wearing, and which was one of the charges brought against her.[7]

We know the result when Joan did begin to wear the dress of a woman; how to save her honor the poor girl was compelled to don the soldier's garb once more, thus earning for herself the title of a "relapsed sinner". Cauchon and his masters are accountable for this piece of infamy; and both Ysambard de la Pierre and Martin Ladvenu in their evidence before Guillaume Bouillé and also in their evidence before the

[6] Quicherat, *Procès.* Tome I. pp. 134-139; quoted by Chapotin.

[7] Ibid. Tome II, p. 341; quoted by Chapotin, p. 145.

commission instituted by Cardinal d'Estouteville, attest that this violence offered to Joan by one whom both call "an English nobleman" was, on the Maid's own confession, the reason why she once more assumed her soldier's dress.[8]

Lemaître evidently tried to save Joan's life, but in vain. Cauchon and the English were determined that she should die; and Lemaître stands condemned by posterity because he was associated with the Bishop of Beauvais and those other members of the council who condemned the Maid. His efforts to save Joan do not save him from the charges of cowardice and weakness, and "after the final scene in the Vieux-Marché", says Père Chapotin, "he passes into the deepest obscurity, ignored and forgotten, so that we do not even know when, or where he died".[9]

These are the only two members of the Order of Preachers whose conduct toward the Maid is blameworthy. They were weak; they were afraid, and for that weakness when strength was demanded, for their compliance with the desires of Cauchon when energetic resistance was imperative, we condemn them. Yet surely atonement was made for the cowardice of Lemaître and the compliance of Graverend by the intrepid courage of Ysambard de la Pierre and Martin Ladvenu. And will not the zeal of Bréhal help us to forget the timidity of his predecessors?

II.

The two Dominicans whose names are inseparably united with the name of Joan of Arc are Martin Ladvenu and Ysambard de la Pierre. Both were subjects of the Vice-Inquisitor who was their Prior, and who brought them, according to monastic custom, as his companions or *socii* to Rouen. Ysambard[10] assisted at some fifteen sessions; Ladvenu at four or five only. Ysambard accompanied Lemaître to Joan in prison

[8] *Jean Bréhal et la Réhabilitation*, note, p. 40.

[9] P. 146. Vide *Jean Bréhal et La Réhabilitation*, note, p. 81.

[10] Cf. *Jean Bréhal et La Réhabilitation de Jeanne d'Arc*. Note, p. 3.

when the latter went to persuade her to wear a woman's dress. Neither he nor Ladvenu assisted at any of the sessions in an official capacity, but when they saw how the Maid was harrassed and upset by the questions which were put to her, and when it became evident to them that Joan's judges were determined to entrap her, their sympathy was given to her without any reserve. They prompted her replies despite the menaces and threats of Cauchon and Warwick, the latter, indeed, threatening to have Ysambard flung into the Seine if he continued to prompt the Maid.[11]

Ysambard gave evidence at the commission in 1450, that when he urged Joan to appeal and submit to the Council of Basle, Cauchon waxed wrath and commanded him to be silent, for which reason the English threatened to fling him into the Seine.[12]

When her enemies had succeeded in their designs and Joan was sentenced to death, it was these two who prepared her for her martyrdom. Ladvenu, with another Dominican, Jean Toutmouillé, went to her prison-cell on the morning of 30 May to tell her she was to die. Ladvenu heard her confession, and spite the unwillingness of Cauchon, who nevertheless had permitted her to receive Holy Communion, insisted upon bringing the Bread of Life to Joan with all possible ceremony.[13] When Joan set out for the Vieux-Marché, Ladvenu was by her side, and Ysambard, whom the soldiery had tried to keep back, soon joined them. He it was [14] who went to the Church for a Crucifix at Joan's request, who held it before her when she was bound to the stake, and both he and Martin

[11] Evidence of Guillaume Duval, O. P., quoted by Chapotin, p. 152. Note: Ysambard, Isambard, Isembart, are common spellings of this name. Some writers—Andrew Lang amongst them—call him an Augustinian; but this is an error. He was a Dominican and was assigned to the Convent of Rouen. The fact that Dominicans follow the Rule of St. Augustine may account for the mistake of these writers.

[12] Quicherat, *Procès.* Tome II. p. 4; quoted by Chapotin.

[13] Ibid., p. 19; quoted by Chapotin.

[14] It was Ysambard and not Massieu, as some writers say, who obtained the Cross for Joan.

Ladvenu remained at their post until with a last cry—Jesus! —the soul of Joan the Blessed went to receive its crown.[15]

Let men say what they will, the names of Ysambard de la Pierre and Martin Ladvenu will never be forgotten for the courage, the constancy, the charity and sympathy which they showed to the defenceless Maid when she was in the midst of her enemies, friendless and alone.

In 1450, Charles VII, with a view to substantiate his claim to the throne of France, rather than to vindicate the honor of her to whom he owed so much, ordered Guillaume Bouillé, Dean of the Cathedral of Noyon, to undertake an examination of the whole Process.[16] Bouillé set to work with a will, and in conjunction with several theologians and canonists, prepared a memoir which he presented to the Holy See. Nicholas V, however, was prevented from entering into the question, and the matter remained in abeyance until 1452.[17] In that year, Cardinal d'Estouteville, who had been appointed Legate in the preceding year, finding himself at Rouen, determined to investigate the Process anew. His first care was to summon to his assistance the Inquisitor-General of France, Jean Bréhal, of the Order of Preachers.[18]

Bréhal was a man of lofty mind, of generous sympathies, courageous and uncompromising where truth, justice or right was in question. All we know concerning his origin is that he was a Normand, and had entered the Order in the Convent of Évreux.[19]

The first session of the new commission was held at Rouen 2 May, 1452. The Cardinal, being called to Paris on pressing business, left the affair in Bréhal's hands, who was also given another assistant in the person of Philippe de la Rose, treasurer of the cathedral.[20] When the witnesses had been

[15] Ibid., p. 6; quoted by Chapotin.

[16] *La Vén. Jeanne d'Arc*, par L. Petit de Julleville. Paris: Lecoffre, 1900. P. 184.

[17] Cf. *Jean Bréhal et La Réhabilitation de Jeanne d' Arc*, pp. 5, 6.

[18] Ibid., p. 8.

[19] Ibid., p. 9.

[20] *Jean Bréhal*, etc., p. 23.

examined, Bréhal and Bouillé laid the result of the investigation before Charles at Cissay.[21] Naturally, the king was well pleased at the prospect of a speedy conclusion of the inquiry, and the next step was to obtain a pronouncement from the Holy See. To facilitate matters, Bréhal composed his first *Summarium* which was intended as a help for the theologians and canonists in Rome. It begins with the words *Articuli graviores et principaliores ipsius Iohnne Puelle, super quibus est deliberandum, videlicet: primus, quod asseruit,* etc.[22]

Pope Nicholas V died 24 March, 1455, before any decision had been given by him.[23] On 8 April of the same year, Alphonsus Borgia was elected Pope, taking the name of Calixtus III. By a rescript dated 11 June, the Pope appointed a new commission of inquiry, the members of which were Jean Juvenal des Ursins, Archbishop of Rheims; Guillaume Chartier, elected to the See of Paris in 1447, and Richard Olivier, Bishop of Coutances. The three members of the Papal Commission summoned to their assistance Jean Bréhal, who has been called "the soul of the whole Process".[24]

The first session of the new commission was held in the Cathedral of Notre-Dame, at Paris, 7 November, 1455, and there Joan's mother appeared, accompanied by her two sons, Jean and Pierre, holding in her hands the Papal Rescript, and petitioning with trembling voice that her child's name might be cleared from the stain attached to it.[25]

The commission appointed Rouen as the place of the next meeting, which was held 15 December. The hearing and examination of witnesses continued, with some interruptions, until May, 1456, and the members of the commission determined to have a new memoir drawn up, which would embody all the verbal and written evidence they had obtained. The task was entrusted by them to Bréhal, for they felt certain that his extensive knowledge of the case, his learning, and

[21] Ibid., p. 24. [22] Ibid., p. 26. [23] Ibid., p. 68.

[24] M. Fabre, quoted by Pères Belon and Balme, *ut supra.*

[25] *Jean Bréhal,* etc., p. 77.

strict impartiality would serve them. Nor were they mistaken. Bréhal's second *Summarium* is a masterpiece: clear, concise and definite. There are two great divisions, the first of which contains nine chapters; the second, twelve; and it is published in full, together with an analysis, in the critical work by the French Dominicans, Belon and Balme. Bréhal forgets nothing, overlooks nothing, and then when he has summed up all the evidence, he pronounces in favor of Joan. Cauchon's sentence he declares to be null and void and inspired by hatred; and he calls upon all men to behold in Joan's martyrdom the fitting crown of a saintly life.

During the month of June, the Apostolic Commission examined the *Summarium* at Paris: and on 1 July, the commission was assembled once more in the Great Hall of the Archbishop's Palace at Rouen.[26]

The following Wednesday Rouen was early astir, and the people began to crowd into the Hall of the Palace. The Archbishop of Rheims presided, and with him were Guillaume Chartier, Richard Olivier, and the Inquisitor-General, Jean Bréhal. The Promoter of the Process, Master Simon Chapitault, was in his place: Jean d'Arc, brother of the Maid was there, and there was another figure whose presence must have made hearts beat faster, Martin Ladvenu, the staunch friend and heroic confessor of Joan.[27] He had been witness of her death and apparent disgrace; it was fitting that he should behold the triumph of her whom he had never failed. For it was to witness the triumph of Joan that the people had assembled. The Archbishop of Rheims, speaking in his own name and in the names of the other Apostolic Delegates, declared that, "the former trial and sentence was stained by deceit, calumny, malice, contradiction, and evident error in fact and law"; that it was "null and void and without effect", and that Joan was not guilty of any of the charges made against her.

[26] *Jean Bréhal*, etc., p. 155.

[27] *Jean Bréhal*, etc., p. 157.

The sentence was sealed and dated from the Palace of the Archbishop, "in the year of our Lord, 1456, the seventh day of the month of July".

A writer has stated that, "the Process of Rehabilitation is in a certain sense the beginning, in the presence of Joan's contemporaries, of the cause of her Beatification".[28] That cause has been concluded in our own day by the present saintly Pontiff, Pius X. He has finished the work which his predecessor, Calixtus III, began, and now the crown of the Blessed graces the brow of the simple peasant Maid of Orleans.

May we not give a place in our thoughts at this time of rejoicing to Bréhal, to Ysambard, and to Martin Ladvenu, while we turn to her whom they befriended and say with glad hearts—

Ora pro nobis, Beata Ioanna.

STANISLAUS M. HOGAN, O.P.

North Adelaide, S. Australia.

PAPAL ENVOYS.

Position and Functions.

FOR many centuries before the Protestant Reformation the Roman Pontiff was universally recognized in Christendom as having precedence over all other sovereigns, and, as a consequence, the legates or nuncios who represented him at foreign courts were accorded the first place among the resident diplomatists, or, in other words, were the deans *de jure* of the diplomatic corps to which they belonged. Even after the Reformation this right of precedence, or the right to occupy the most honorable place in official documents, functions, and ceremonies, was freely conceded to the papal envoys in nearly every European court.

This ancient privilege of the pontifical representatives was endangered for the first time during the deliberations of the

[28] M. de Beaucourt: *Hist. de Charles VII;* tome v, p. 359; quoted by Belon and Balme.

Congress of Vienna, which was convoked in 1815 to decide the numerous State problems occasioned by the Napoleonic wars. All the powers which had taken part in the Treaty of Paris were represented at this convocation, namely, Austria, England, France, Portugal, Prussia, Russia, Spain, and Switzerland.

The earlier sessions of the Congress were devoted to an attempt to settle the vexed question of the relative rank and precedence of the various diplomatic agents, a question which had given rise to interminable discussion and dispute from the very beginning of the practice of stationing resident diplomatists at foreign courts.[1] The plan which was finally adopted provided that all diplomatic representatives should be divided into three grades, ranking in the following order: 1. ambassadors and legates, or nuncios; 2. envoys, or ministers plenipotentiary; 3. chargés d'affaires. A fourth class, the ministers resident, ranking intermediary between the envoys and the chargés d'affaires, was introduced three years later at the Congress of Aix la Chapelle.

In its original form Article 4 of the Regulation adopted by the Congress of Vienna provided that the diplomatic agents of each class should take rank among themselves in the order in which they had presented their credentials to the head of the government to which they were accredited. This would entail, as the papal representative, Cardinal Consalvi, pointed out, the loss of the right of precedence which the envoys of

[1] "A diplomatic envoy is the representative of his government or sovereign, and his claim of rank is for his country and not for himself; so that the controversy in the past has been one of nations rather than of persons. During the medieval period the struggle of the European nations for preëminence in rank was the special feature of the era, and it gave rise often to the most absurd pretensions. It was sought to be maintained for various reasons, such as: the title of the sovereign, the size of the dominions, the antiquity of the royal family or date of independence of the country, the nature of the government (whether monarchy or republic), the population, its achievements in arms, the date of the conversion of the people to Christianity, and even the services rendered to the Pope or to the Church." John W. Foster: *The Practice of Diplomacy*, p. 15.

the Holy See had enjoyed for so many centuries. The dean of the diplomatic corps would thereafter be the senior ambassador in point of service at any court, and not the pontifical nuncio. In order to preserve this right of the nuncio Consalvi proposed the addition of the following clause to the Article in question: "Out of regard for religious principles and for the Catholic powers, the non-Catholic powers agree that there shall be no change made in regard to the Pope". This proviso met with opposition from the Swiss and English representatives. The latter stated that although the British diplomatists had never disputed the precedence of the papal nuncio in the past, and would continue to accord it to him in the future out of motives of courtesy, yet it was impossible for him to ascribe to the amendment *as a principle,* since it was contrary to the laws of his nation and would not be approved by Parliament. He suggested a substitute article to the effect that the question of precedence should be discussed directly with each government to which a nuncio should be sent. The Cardinal, however, refused to entertain this proposition as it would not only have the effect of making the position of the papal envoys doubtful even at Catholic courts, but would also necessitate a disagreeable preliminary discussion on this point every time the Pope proposed to send a representative to a non-Catholic government. Consalvi then formulated the amendment in the following terms: "Since the Pope differs from other princes on account of the union of a religious dignity to his position as temporal sovereign, it is not intended to make any change in regard to his representatives." This, too, was rejected by the British minister, who regarded it as tantamount to a positive admission of the principle of the nuncio's right of precedence. In the end the Congress adopted the following clause: "The present Regulation will not make any change regarding the representatives of the Pope." The value of this addition lies in the fact that it gave a positive sanction to the right which the papal envoys enjoyed by virtue of a long-established custom. Hence in those countries which were signatories of this Regulation, or which

have subsequently adopted it, the papal nuncio still retains his ancient preëminence over all other diplomatic agents, or, in other words, is the dean *de jure* of the diplomatic corps.[2]

While the right of the nuncio has been unquestioned since the Congress of Vienna, there have been occasional disputes as to whether papal envoys of lower grade are entitled to a similar precedence over secular diplomatists of the same rank. In 1849 the internuncio at The Hague demanded the post of honor among his colleagues. The British minister, who was dean by right of seniority of service, opposed the claim of the papal representative, and was sustained in his contention by the English premier, Lord Palmerston. The reasons alleged for this refusal were, 1. the exception in the Regulation of Vienna was made for the nuncio alone, and should not be extended beyond the letter of the article; and 2. the exception therein established simply confirmed an existing custom, and preserved to the nuncio a right which he already possessed.

The position of the apostolic delegate and envoy extraordinary of the Holy See was discussed in a conference of the foreign ministers held in Lima, 12 July, 1878. By a vote of six to three it was decided that the apostolic delegate was not entitled to any preëminence over other diplomatists of the same grade, and his relative position in the diplomatic corps was to be determined solely by the date of the presentation of his credentials. The minister of Chili, the senior member of the corps, was allowed to cede his right of deanship to the papal envoy out of motives of respect to the Holy See, but the conference expressly stipulated that his action should not be construed as a precedent.

The Regulation of 1815, it is true, makes specific mention of the nuncio alone, for the reason that the Holy See at that time was not accustomed to commission legates of lower rank

[2] "American ministers resident at the courts of Europe to which papal nuncios are accredited have recognized the precedence accorded them by making the first visit and in otherwise observing the courtesies due to their established station; and this action has been approved by the Department of State." Foster, *op. cit.*, p. 27.

for permanent diplomatic positions. The internuncio was first employed in 1829, and the apostolic delegate and envoy extraordinary in 1851. But it can hardly be seriously questioned that the internuncio, at least, is a papal representative. Hence he comes within, not only the spirit, but also the letter of the exception made in Article 4 of the Regulation regarding the representatives of the Pope. As a matter of fact, from the very beginning the internuncio has been given the first place among diplomatists of his class. The position of the apostolic delegate remains somewhat uncertain; still it seems but reasonable that he should be accorded the same distinction in his grade as is given to pontifical agents of higher rank.

What has been said regarding the precedence of papal diplomatic agents residing permanently at any capital, applies likewise to those sent on occasional or extraordinary missions. According to the Vienna Regulation no change was to be made regarding the representatives of the Pope, and as on several occasions before 1815 papal envoys of this character were accorded priority over secular extraordinary ambassadors,[3] it follows that they still retain this right. Hence the present Cardinal Vincent Vannutelli was justified in protesting against the discourtesy shown him in 1883 by the denial of his right to precede the other extraordinary ambassadors at the coronation ceremonies of Czar Alexander III.

A few observations may be made in reference to the relative positions of the papal representatives and the hierarchy of the nation to which they are sent. A papal legate *a latere* takes precedence over all ecclesiastical dignitaries of his district, even though they should be Cardinals of a higher order or of earlier creation. The reason is that this legate by virtue of his cardinalate is superior to any bishop or archbishop, and his quality of special representative of the Supreme Pontiff gives him temporary preëminence over his brother Cardinals. For similar reasons the papal nuncio, who is always a bishop,

[3] The precedence of the papal extraordinary envoys was acknowledged at the Muscovite court by Catherine II in 1783, and at the coronation of the Czars Paul I (1797) and Alexander I (1801).

ranks before the local Ordinaries with the exception of those who are invested with the cardinalitial dignity. No nuncio can claim precedence over a Cardinal, as is evident from the Constitution *Non mediocri,* wherein Eugene IV reproved the legate-born of England, the Archbishop of Canterbury, for refusing to cede the post of honor to the Cardinal archbishop of York. If the internuncio or apostolic delegate is a bishop he takes first place among the diocesans of the legation. He is entitled to this distinction even when he has not received episcopal consecration, for ecclesiastical dignity is determined more by the power of jurisdiction than by the power of orders. In practice, however, the envoy who is not a bishop does not usually press his claim for precedence, though as a rule it is freely acknowledged by the episcopate of his district. The papal chargé d'affaires has no right of precedence over the bishops of his territory.

Before departing for the scene of his labors the newly-appointed legate of the Holy See is furnished with credential letters and instructions. The former, which are usually in the form of a Papal Bull or Brief, are addressed to the ruler of the nation and are presented to him by the envoy in a solemn audience shortly after his arrival at the capital. They manifest the rank and position of the bearer, the extent of his powers, and the general scope and purpose of his mission. A copy of these letters is retained by the nuncio. Unlike the ambassadors of monarchical governments, the papal representative retains his power and authority even after the death of the Pope who appointed him, and, consequently, does not present fresh credentials on the accession of a new Pontiff. The letters of appointment of a chargé d'affaires are directed, not to the head of the government, but to the Minister of Foreign Affairs.

The instructions of the envoy are personal and confidential directions, and are not made known to the authorities. In them the legate is given detailed information concerning everything which the Secretary of State considers necessary or useful for the intelligent conduct of the business of the embassy. Thus, for instance, he is advised of the present condi-

tion of the relations between the Holy See and the government to which he is sent, the friendly or hostile character of the resident diplomatic corps and high officials of State, and is instructed regarding the policy and methods he must follow during his term of office.

As soon as possible after taking possession of his office the nuncio is required to forward to the Secretary of State a minute and circumstantial report of the exact condition of affairs at the national capital. In this communication he gives his views and impressions of the influential government officials, their characteristics, their attitude toward the Church, etc. The value of this report is in proportion to its exactness, as from it the Roman authorities obtain first-hand information concerning the manner of men with whom they are to conduct negotiations.

At suitable intervals he is obliged to transmit a detailed and precise account of such events as have a direct or remote bearing on the interests of religion in his district. For this purpose the legate must keep a vigilant eye on the deliberations of the legislative bodies of the nation, the official acts and public speeches of State functionaries and influential men of affairs. He must keep abreast of the current literature dealing with politico-religious questions, as occasionally these publications are inspired by the government or political parties in order to discover the temper of the people in reference to contemplated legislation on these subjects. Then, too, he is strongly urged to conduct a regular correspondence with the pontifical representatives in adjacent districts, as in this way he may often obtain valuable information concerning events which are secretly transpiring in his own territory. He is also expected to give timely notice to the Roman authorities of any request or petition which the government intends to forward to the Holy See, so that there may be time to weigh the nature of the demand and the motives which prompt it. It is likewise his duty to impart to the Secretary of State any conjectures he may form or any information he may glean concerning the affairs of Church and State in other legations.

The papal envoy is also required to exact from the local authorities all the honors and distinctions which have been extended to his predecessors in the legation. These privileges cannot be waived or renounced by any representative of the Holy See, for they are not simple courtesies extended to him personally, but are marks of respect to the august personage whom he represents.[4]

In his relation with the episcopacy of his district the legate is bound to show due respect and consideration for their position and dignity, and in no way infringe on their just rights and privileges. By strictly observing this rule the nuncio will avoid stirring up any resentment and friction which might complicate his labors and mar the success of his mission. Regarding the subaltern personnel of the legation he is required to submit an annual report wherein he carefully and conscientiously indicates the respective merits and demerits of each official.

It is hardly necessary to add that both in public and private the nuncio should carefully refrain from any word or deed which might wound the national pride or prejudices of the people among whom he resides, as one thoughtless word or action may bring to naught the labors of a year. Again, it is practically indispensable for him to know the civil and religious history of the nation to which he is accredited, and in particular the causes and solutions of the various controversies which in times past threatened a rupture of friendly relations between that nation and the Holy See.

JOSEPH J. MURPHY.

Philadelphia, Pa.

[4] Among the privileges still accorded to ambassadors and papal nuncios we may instance the following: the right to use a six-horse carriage of state on the occasion of their first solemn audience with the sovereign; military honors on their entrance to the residence of the ruler; the right to erect a throne in their audience chamber; a place immediately after the royal family at all official ceremonies and functions; the title of "Your Excellency"; etc., etc.

THE SPIRIT OF ST. ALPHONSUS DE LIGUORI.

IN the life of the saintly Father Nerinckx by Bishop Maes we are told [1] that Father Badin was "of more than necessary severity which, if tempered with a little of the honey of kindness, would be more palatable to the people, and of more use in converting inveterate sinners and healing loathsome wounds." Father Nerinckx himself seems to have had something of this unnecessary severity, for "the few writings we have of him prove that he was austere unto rigor, that the ruling motive of his piety was fear rather than love." [2] In a note to this last statement the author says: "Saint Liguori's piety seems to me to have been informed mainly by fear. The more amiable St. Francis de Sales had piety that always breathed the sweetness of love."

This opinion regarding the piety of St. Alphonsus is hardly based on fact and would be difficult to demonstrate from the authentic writings of the Saint. On the contrary, even a slight acquaintance with the life and labors of this great Saint will readily dispel any idea which presents him to us otherwise than as amiable and gentle, and which caused Father Faber to refer to him constantly as that "sweet spirit, Saint Alfonso." Indeed the reason of the great popularity enjoyed by St. Alphonsus throughout the world, and of the wonderful influence he wields for good is precisely because his piety is informed by love of God rather than by any other motive. He speaks to the people in the language of love and this is the language they best understand, the language of the heart.

On the very first page of a work entitled *The Practice of the Love of Christ,* St. Alphonsus says: "All sanctity and perfection consist in loving Jesus Christ, our God and our Highest Good." And then, quoting from St. Francis de Sales, he continues: "Some place perfection in austerity; others in prayer; others in frequenting the Sacraments; others in giving alms, but they are mistaken: perfection consists in loving God with our whole heart." "Love and be happy," he says, writing to

[1] Page 170. [2] Ibid.

a community of religious, "he who loves so good a God should never allow dark and gloomy thoughts to enter his heart."[3]

Owing to his own great love for God, St. Alphonsus was inspired with a hatred of sin. On the ruins of sin, divine love was to spring up and spread rapidly as the fruit of the coming of Christ. He was inspired, we say, with a hatred of sin, but at the same time with mercy toward the sinner; and these two characteristics are the distinguishing features of his long and eventful life; and we meet them in all his books, in all his letters, and in the ardent zeal of his apostolate as missionary and as bishop. Hatred of sin and mercy toward the sinner made him choose the safe way between the lax and the rigid opinions of theologians. The Rev. Abbé Hogan says: "The two schools, the rigid and the indulgent, continued to flourish side by side through the last and the earlier part of the present century. In St. Alphonsus they met and blended in such happy proportions that his decisions, commonly followed by subsequent writers, may be looked upon as the type and rule of modern casuistry."[4] In this connexion we may also quote the words of Cardinal Fischer, Archbishop of Cologne, in the first Pastoral Letter addressed to his clergy: "Now that I enter upon the duty of caring for the flock intrusted to me by God I place before my eyes . . . St. Alphonsus, that Doctor of the Church who excelled in his purity of heart, his candor of soul and the fervor of his devotion toward the most Blessed Trinity, toward the Word Incarnate and His Sacred Mysteries, toward the Blessed Virgin Mary, in a word toward all things divine; he was so divinely favored with the gift of wisdom that he is justly regarded as the leader and master of all those who devote themselves to the duty of guiding and directing souls in the way of salvation."[5]

"As a theologian," says the illustrious Cardinal Manning, "his power over the hearts of men has been ever expanding.

[3] *General Correspondence*, Vol. I, p. 24.

[4] *The Studies of the Clergy.*

[5] Pastoral Letter, 19 March, 1903.

While he was yet alive he did more than any other to destroy and root out forever the two opposite plagues of Jansenism and of laxity: and, by the fervor of his piety which he infused into moral theology, to destroy the formalism of the careless and mechanical. And this power has been extending itself from nation to nation, and church to church, from diocese to diocese, from seminary to seminary, from confessional to confessional. The mind of Alphonsus and the benignity of his pastoral love of souls has entered and conquered in every Catholic country and at this day reigns throughout the Church." [6] It is true he inveighed against sin and the proximate occasion of sin, because of his inveterate hatred of sin; but "it was not rigor," says the author just quoted, "it was the penetrating intuition of a soul full of zeal against sin and altogether on fire for the salvation of souls." [7]

If St. Alphonsus dwells upon the necessity of bringing home to the minds of the people the eternal truths, it is because he realizes that the fear of the Lord is the beginning of wisdom, "and that there are souls asleep in the lethargy of sin, to whom no motive will appeal but fear. And yet even here he has given very salutary instruction to preachers of the word of God, for he says in the Introduction to the Selva: 'In the sermons which inspire terror and dread we must avoid leading our hearers to despair of salvation or of amendment. Whatever the wretched condition of the sinner may be we must always leave a door open for his conversion and change of life by encouraging him to have confidence in the merits of Jesus Christ and the intercession of the Mother of God, having recourse by prayer to these two great anchors of hope.'"

"His zeal against sin," says Cardinal Manning, "was tempered by an extraordinary love of sinners. In this he followed closely the words of our Divine Lord: 'I am not come to call the just but sinners to repentance.' We find him surrounded by the lowest and most desperate of the populations to whom he preached. He had special attraction for them, the cause

[6] *Missions of St. Alph.*, p. 29. [7] L. c., p. 26.

of which is evident—his singular benignity of heart. . . . And this benignity with sinners manifested itself in the facility with which he gave absolution and in the lightness and sweetness of the penance he imposed upon them. He made the Sacrament of Penance an object not only of faith but of love; not a torture of the conscience but a rest, a solace and a joy." [8]

"At the first sign of the bell the villagers hastened to the church: 'Let us go,' they cried out, 'let us go to hear our saint that loves us and that smoothes our path to heaven.'" [9]

"He loved the confessional as the chief function of his priesthood, the deepest, most interior and vital work for souls. He used to say, a priest who does not love the confessional does not love souls. He was the first to enter it in the morning and the last to leave it at night. The deeper the soul is plunged in sin, he was wont to say, the more we must endeavor by kindness to pluck it from the arms of Satan and cast it into the arms of God." [10]

"At a time when mercy and joy were banished as foreign from almost every country and every hearth; when confessors armed themselves with iron sternness against weak and shuddering sinners; when frequent Communion began to be regarded as an impossibility if not a crime . . . God sent into this world a saint destined to take mercy and joy by the hand and render them victorious in every Christian household, a saint who would rob confessors of the heavy armor which suppressed the beatings of their hearts and rendered their arms powerless to embrace sinners; a saint who was to make frequent Communion the cherished practice of new Catholic generations, who would love and cause others to love the words joy and gladness, and would make sweetness, unity and love triumph for many ages, perhaps forever." [11]

Cardinal Lorenzelli writes in the same strain: "The principles he (St. Alphonsus) advocated on the infusion of piety

[8] L. c., p. 22.

[9] Tannoia's Memoirs.

[10] Manning, l. c., p. 27.

[11] *Life of St. Alph.*, by Sister of Mercy. Introduction by Léon Gautier.

into the study of the sciences, the holy Doctor applied in a manner all his own in those of his works that treat rather of theory than of practice, i. e. his dogmatic works. Without charity the science of theology is not deserving of honor before God or His Church. This truth, which some modern intellectual men seem to have forgotten, we see and we actually feel, so to say, through the length and breadth of the dogmatic works of St. Alphonsus. And therefore it seems very opportune to call attention to the perfume of piety and priestly zeal that exhales from the dogmatic treatises of the holy Doctor, at times in the natural and spontaneous reflexions which, without interfering with the exposé of the doctrine, elevate the soul of the student to God; again in the fervent exhortations he addresses to priests and finally in the beautiful prayer for the good of the Church which we find at the end of the treatise." [12]

If we turn to the Saint's method of prayer, which forms the basis of his whole scheme of spirituality, we find in it that spirit of simplicity which accords well with the principle of love. It was his zeal in preaching the necessity and efficacy of what he called the "Great means of salvation" that has earned for him the title of "Apostle of Prayer". His method of prayer has the character of extreme simplicity which places it within reach of the least instructed. "What is prayer," said he, "if not a familiar conversation and an intimate union with God?" His intimate knowledge of the human heart taught him to introduce frequent acts of the will or affections, whose utility and even necessity have been recognized by all the saints, it is true, but by none more persistently than by him. St. Alphonsus explicitly reduces all Christian perfection to the practice of the love of God; the initial love of hope and of confidence in those beginning to serve God, the perfect love ever seeking the good pleasure of God for the more advanced.

"Toward love," says he, "all must converge: considera-

[12] Card. Lorenzelli's Letter to translator of Dogmatic Works, 29 January, 1904.

tions, affections, prayers and resolutions." It is this that makes his method of prayer so powerful a means of action and of perseverance. It is this that made Monsignor Ketteler, the illustrious Bishop of Mayence, say with reference to the *Visits to the Blessed Sacrament*, that "one thought of St. Alphonsus was enough for an hour's adoration and exercise of love." "It is," he adds, "the frequent repetition of these words: 'I love Thee, my Jesus, I love Thee,' that exercises such sway over the soul." [13]

"Alphonsus did not hesitate," says Cardinal Capecelatro, "to employ terms that are used in the expression of human love, and it is not to be wondered at; for in his language we recognize the natural expression of a love wholly divine. When he speaks familiarly with Jesus Christ he speaks like one charmed with the object of his affection. When he speaks to the Madonna, he uses words such as a child would use in talking to its mother. And this makes him wonderfully popular, because the people best understand the language of the heart." [14]

The style of his writing and preaching is simple and without any scientific display. When writing a dissertation on forbidden books, some one asked him why he did not use more of Father De Meo's learned notes, and he humbly replied: "Do you want me to pass for a learned man in the eyes of the world?" This was saying in other words what St. Paul has said long before: "And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not in the loftiness of speech or of wisdom declaring unto you the testimony of Christ. My speech and my preaching was not in the persuasive words of human wisdom." [15]

Of the majority of ecclesiastical writers it may be said that they force our admiration by their peculiar gifts of theological and ascetical science, by the possession of a certain natural

[13] *Life of Mgr. Ketteler*, by O. Pfuelf, S. J., Vol. III, p. 339.

[14] *Life of St. Alph.*, Vol. I, p. 335.

[15] I Cor. 2: 1, 2, 4.

talent to explain the beauty and cogency of religious motives. But in the writings of St. Alphonsus the supernatural element asserts itself so plainly and claims our attention so forcibly that his natural qualities remain almost entirely obscured. He seems to have kept constantly in view the ability and the needs of the people for whom he wrote, and therefore his language is so clear and so simple that it reaches both mind and heart. He has brought theology and philosophy down from their inaccessible heights and placed asceticism within reach of the ordinary people. Hence it is scarcely to be wondered at that he exerted such a widespread influence for the uplifting and the sanctification of his fellow-beings.

St. Alphonsus was a champion of the Church's traditional teaching and as such his works are eminently suited for the present day. "Whilst the characteristics of the life and virtues of Jesus Christ are delineated in his person," says a certain learned author, "by his writings he has become the witness, the continuator and the faithful echo of Catholic tradition at the beginning of an era altogether new. He appears to us as a prophet of the new times, preaching the old truths in a manner adapted to the intelligence of the people."

At a time when the idea of authority in matters of doctrine seemed to disappear, and novelties were forcing themselves to the front, St. Alphonsus did not permit himself to be carried along by the current of rationalism. Far from depending upon none but his own conception of things, he was careful to gather together what had been taught in all ages by the great witnesses of faith. Thus we find in his writings a tendency to let others speak, in order that he may give the uninterrupted thread of the doctrine of Jesus Christ. The historian Rohrbacher says, "he has transmitted the divine heritage with entire fidelity." [16] And Alphonsus himself, when speaking of his system, says: "I have based it on the teaching of theologians and especially on that of the prince of theologians, St. Thomas Aquinas. If, therefore, I have been mistaken, I

[16] *Histoire Universelle*, t. XXVII, p. 81.

am not alone but in company with this great Doctor." His Eminence Cardinal Lorenzelli tells us that, "in both branches of theology, dogmatic as well as moral, Alphonsus was faithful to the teaching of St. Thomas. I will go further, and say that under the pen of St. Alphonsus some of the doctrines of St. Thomas have grown in strength and in beauty." [17]

In speaking of a work of St. Alphonsus, Monsignor Gaume says: "You have here, not the thought of one man, but the thought of centuries. It is not the Bishop of St. Agatha: it is tradition itself that preaches and instructs. This book is a sacred tribune from which we hear in turn the voice of the prophets, apostles, and apostolic men and the most able men of ancient, medieval, and modern times." [18]

Nor must we infer from what has been said that St. Alphonsus was simply a compiler, or the author of a repertoire of quotations from some one else; under his able pen the citations he makes acquire new life, new warmth, new force, and the imprint of the spirit of the Saint—which is preëminently the spirit of love. And thus it is evident that the works of this great Saint and Doctor of the Church, embodying and perpetuating his fervor and zeal to bring all men to the love of God, are eminently suited to accomplish in no small degree the desire of our glorious Pontiff, Pius X, "To renew all things in Christ."

C. J. WARREN, C.SS.R.

Mt. St. Alphonsus, Esopus, N. Y.

[17] Letter to Translator of Dogmatic Works of St. Alphonsus.

[18] *Dictionnaire de Théologie.*

THE BLINDNESS OF THE REVEREND DR. GRAY:*

OR

THE FINAL LAW.

CHAPTER XXXI

The Great Renunciation.

MEANWHILE, Henry Liston had been passing through a singular mental revolution. That painful scene with his pastor, when the latter in a fit of furious zeal flung the offending volume through the window, awakened new thoughts, and threw the young priest further back upon himself. Up to that time he had formed his judgment that his pastor, otherwise and in every way an excellent type of a great shepherd of souls, was, however, somewhat of an extremist, because old-fashioned and conservative and without that flexibility of character that fits in with changes in the times and circumstances of life. Hence he had disregarded the very broad criticism and sarcasm which the old man flung broadcast upon his more liberal and modern studies. They were, he thought, the privilege of a class that was rapidly passing away; and it was hardly worth while to controvert them, or reason the old man into broader and freer methods of thought. But, just as the sharp report of a pistol in some Alpine valley will precipitate the fall of an avalanche, so that act of violence of which his pastor was guilty seemed to fling across the soul of the young priest vast doubts and difficulties, which hitherto were only poised in solution and mildly threatening.

He took up the offending volume of the unhappy poet from the grass where it lay beneath the broken window. It was uninjured, except for one sharp cut across the smooth binding; and he opened and read with deliberation the passage that had so moved his pastor's passion. It was infinitely pathetic—a cry, a complaint, as of a wounded thing, to the Being who had wrought such havoc into its life. He thought he could see the

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unhappy man on his bed of mattresses far away there in the room above the seething life of a Parisian boulevard—paralyzed, his spine broken, his limbs emaciated, his eyelids closed down helplessly over the burning eyes. It was a pitiful vision of the fancy; and the pleading and complaining words almost brought tears into the young priest's eyes, for they appeared to be the voice of bruised and wounded humanity; but suddenly he saw the worn hand lift up one eyelid; and looking toward him, he saw that eye leering at him in very scorn for his maudlin pity. And then came the words of blasphemous anger, that had set ablaze the pious soul of his pastor, and the strong, scornful nickname, that half a jest, was wholly an insult to the Almighty.

He put down the book and began to think:

"Is it right for me to find pleasure in such things? Am I not a priest, chosen from thousands to be the loyal servant and faithful subject of my King? Did I not swear, whilst my hands were clasped within my bishop's, fidelity and loyalty to Him, who had predestined me from eternity to be one of His holy and anointed band of priests, who were to carry His banner, and extend His empire? And am I serving Him loyally whilst my book-shelves are lined with literature, every line of which seems to be a fierce indictment of His sovereign goodness? Is it not treasonable to keep treasonable productions in one's possession and to relish their disloyalty for the sake of their art? True, I wouldn't for the world place one of these dangerous and unholy things in the hands of the most enlightened of my parishioners, lest I should outrage his faith, or scandalize him by the very toleration of such iniquity. But have I the right to indulge in secret a certain morbid if enlightened taste for such forbidden things, that if I were to utter them from the pulpit, I should be stripped of my priesthood and silenced forever? And is there not some inconsistency in uttering several times a day the magnificent praises of the Shepherd-King and Poet of Israel and then lay down the harp of Sion to take up the viol of Satan? Is there not a gulf, wider than heaven, deeper than hell, between the souls of the kingly Psalmist and the smitten German Jew? Between that terrible, mocking *Spitzname*, "The Aristophanes of Heaven", and the seraphic rapture which made the sublime convert, Augustine, exclaim:

Whence therefore have I known Thee, O Lord, most high God above the heavens and the earth? whom neither Cherubim nor Seraphim can perfectly know, but veil their faces with the wings of contemplation before the face of Him who sits upon the throne, and proclaim: Holy, Holy, Holy is the Lord God of Hosts, all the earth is full of Thy glory. The Prophet trembled and said: Woe unto me, because I have been silent, because my lips are polluted. And my heart has trembled and said: Woe unto me, because I have known Thee. Nevertheless, Lord, woe unto those who are silent concerning Thee, for without Thee the most eloquent are dumb.[1]

The lesson struck home to the heart of the young priest, whose mobile disposition was capable of great things, or could be subdued to lower levels. Again he gave one whole day to an examination of the question in all its details. It was a day of much anguish of thought, of such searchings and inquiries into the most secret recesses of soul that the probing becomes infinitely painful, and the wavering of the soul's judgment causes almost physical anguish. He had gone through these spiritual autopsies again and again; but his decisions were prompt and painless. Under the influence of his sister's letters urging him to the higher life, he had gradually, but without much mortification, weaned himself from those sensible pleasures which, perfectly innocent, began to appear somewhat incongruous with his profession. Graceful little etchings and engravings of such pictures as "Merlin and Vivien", or "The Lily Maid of Astolat", were quietly disposed of; bit by bit, his little silver treasures were melted down and passed in coin into the pockets of the poor. He hesitated a long time about his piano; but finally decided it might be useful. But he parted with his *Operas* and bought *Oratorios*. Even his love for flowers, with all other beautiful things, he subdued so far that he kept them only for his altar. But now he was called upon by some mysterious voice to part with his beloved books—those silent, but delightful companions, which had shed such a glow of happiness over his life. The tears came into his eyes as he cast them over the well-filled bookcase. But the voice seemed to be peremptory. Finally he compromised with the voice and his conscience. He drew down a red silk lining inside the glass doors of his bookcases and turned the keys in the locks. Then he went out.

[1] *Soliloquia S. Aug.* Cap. XXXI.

He passed down along the ridges that sentineled the sea until he came to the rude ditch that was built above the steep, red rocks, whose feet were washed by the tide. For a few moments he hesitated. He felt in the agonies of one who did not know whether he was going to perform a heroic deed or perpetrate an atrocious crime. But just then the mocking voice of his pastor seemed to echo in his ears:

Röslein, Röslein, Röslein roth,
Röslein auf der Heiden.

And swinging the keys above his head, he flung them far out into the deep. He just watched until the waters leaped at the impact and then subsided; and he went back to his home not at all unhappy for the sacrifice.

From that moment his spirtual duties, which sometimes had become irksome, began to afford him unusual pleasure. He threw himself into them, heart and soul, and a new life seemed to dawn upon him. He was conscious, too, as he advanced along the road of penance and spirituality, of a strange vigor which seemed to be infused into his character by the steady self-control and spiritual illumination that followed. Gradually he made up his mind that he had to find all his recreation, as well as his work, in the religious regeneration of the people. He shut his eyes to all their defects; he closed his ears to all siren calls of patriotism and politics; he plunged blindly forward, his strength of soul increasing at every step, into a work where there seemed to be neither recognition nor reward, not even the reward of apparent or even transitory success.

He was helped along a good deal by his daily conferences with his pastor. Every afternoon he rode down to the presbytery; and after a few words the two priests—the old man, with the gray hairs and the extinguished sense of sight; and the handsome, strong, young curate—knelt side by side, or sat, whilst the younger of the two read out, line by line, the Office of the day. He had to go right through it without pause or stop, his pastor repeating the alternate verses or antiphons, which were familiar to him after fifty years, and then listening attentively and reverently to his curate reading out slowly and solemnly the stately passages from the Scriptures and the Lessons in the Second and Third Nocturns. The slow, distinct utterance and

dwelling on syllables were a wonderful help toward correcting his too rapid pronunciation. He had now time to watch and relish the sublime sweetness that underlies the noble Psalms in the Office; and, unlike his private recitations, when he felt sometimes that it was a burden, these choral readings became so sweet and significant to sense and intellect that he almost regretted their termination. But then he had to take up *Suarez* or *St. Thomas* and read out at least one proposition with all its *scholia* and objections for his blind pastor; and this became, too, after a time, a source of intense pleasure. He felt at last that he was on the summits of the everlasting hills.

Occasionally he pulled from his pocket a little vellum-bound volume, containing the Meditations, Soliloquies, and Manual of St. Augustine, and anticipated his pastor's request for such spiritual reading. But these sublime canticles were not quite methodical or controvertible enough for the pastor's taste; and Henry had to go back to the hard, dry, terrible reasoning that pervades the modern theologians.

Then they would talk about parish affairs.

"How can we bring them back," the old man would say, reverting forever to the old theme, "how can we bring the people back to their old selves? They appear to have fallen under some malignant spell of selfishness. How I do hate to hear them say: 'Every man now for himself!' It is so unlike the old generous spirit that made their ancestors throw up everything for God and their country."

"I think," said his curate meekly, "that we have to blame ourselves. I fear, sir, that in helping to work out the material prosperities of the race, we have lost hold of what is more important."

"Precisely. Just what I was saying to you about the new patriotism. It is all self, self—the land, and then something else, and then something else, until the whole thing will end in a species of Socialism, and the people's desires become insatiable."

"God forbid! And yet 'tis possible," said his curate. "It is so hard to pursue the material thing and conserve the ideal at the same time."

"Well, keep the ideal before them," said his pastor. "Hold them up and make them fix their eyes steadily on the highest national and spiritual ideals. That is our only hope."

"How is Miss O'Farrell, sir?" said his curate after a pause.

"Well, very well, indeed. She always desires to be remembered to you. She appears to be very happy in her profession. You know it was a big gap in my life in the beginning; but now I see 'tis all for the better. It was selfish of me to try and keep her here always. She had a right to choose for herself."

"Do you know, sir," said Henry Liston abruptly, "I had always an idea that she wanted to escape from the attentions of that fellow Wycherly?"

It was a secret of some years' standing; and Henry was appalled at his rashness in revealing it so suddenly. It was utterly unpremeditated.

"Ha!" said the old man sharply, a sudden pallor deepening on his white face. He then became silent. And his curate waited in trepidation, not knowing what was coming next. It might be a volcanic explosion, or the puff of a deadened heart.

After a pause which Henry Liston thought would never end, he heaved a deep sigh and said:

"You never mentioned this before!"

"It was only a conjecture," said his curate. "The putting together of one or two things that seemed to fit each other."

There was another pause.

"I had always some suspicion, some idea, that this introduction to the Wycherlys through these boys was not altogether wise. Now I see it," said the old man.

"You meant well, sir!" said the curate soothingly. "And after all, it was a noble lesson in toleration."

"And like all noble lessons, a dangerous personal experiment," said his pastor.

"I understand there is much trouble brewing amongst them at Rohira!" said Henry Liston. "This returned mate, or captain, or whatever he is, does not agree with his father."

"I suppose the fellow is a ne'er-do-well," said his pastor.

"There is some dark suspicion hanging over his relations with those gypsies," said his curate. "The father has come to hear it and, with his old sense of honor, he is indignant about it. I think if Jack survives, and would give up his profession, the father would probably leave him Rohira."

"Or perhaps Kerins would come back into his ancestral home?" said the pastor.

"Not likely, I fear," said his curate. "He has been rushing to ruin, as you know, but I think I've pulled him up and that he is on the mending-tack. If I could get him married to Martha Sullivan, she would be his salvation."

"Martha Sullivan? Martha ——?"

"You remember her, sir—that handsome girl over at Carrig—old Mick Sullivan's daughter?"

"Dolly? Of course. Is it Dolly? Why, 'tisn't two years since we had her confirmed."

"Yes, she has sprung up to womanhood quickly; and she is a most excellent girl. But Duggan and she have been rather thick. The chances are that it is one of the reasons why Kerins seems to leap at the notion."

"But won't it make matters much worse there?"

"Worse and better!" said Henry Liston. "It will save this poor fellow from ruin; and then it will bring round the Sullivan faction to his side, and they have a big following."

"Kerins is not a bad fellow, I believe?" said the old man.

"Not at all. He's a little careless, like so many who go abroad. But 'tis easy to get at the soft side of him. I think I'll get him to his Easter duty this year. And in the end, I think, he'll balk them all. The Duggans will rage a little and then subside. I wish that ruffian, Dick Duggan, would go to America. The rest of the family are fairly quiet."

"Wasn't it an extraordinary thing that they voted for Reeves? I didn't think that there was an Irishman in the parish that would side with him."

"It is the 'New Ireland', sir!" said his curate, "of which we were speaking. There were injured feelings, filthy lucre, and then the 'gintleman' came on the scene, and more than the 'gintleman'—the lady came with her lavender gloves, and her perfumes, and her seal-skins, and what Irishman could resist that? They'd put the rope round Robert Emmet's neck for such an honor."

"Yes, 'the gintleman', 'the gintleman!'" echoed his pastor. "How well I remember the word! But I had always been hoping that the Land League had killed all that."

"Not a bit of it!" said his curate. "They are more abject slaves to the gentry than ever! If I hadn't stopped him, Kerins would have sold his farm to young Wycherly. The fellow has

money, and he'd have given him double what he had paid for it. And then, as I was saying, he was impatient of his father's tenure of Rohira and he had set his heart on marrying Miss O'Farrell. He told Kerins so."

"My God! what an escape!" said the old man. "I'd rather see her dead."

"There was no danger!" said his curate. "I think she must have expressed herself pretty freely, when the matter was even hinted at. And now, I think, Wycherly will cut. He'll go back to sea; but, they say, he's blocked there and that he was expelled from his ship."

"Strange that Annie never told me!" murmured the old man. "She might have told me, I think!"

"I don't think so," said his curate. "It was rather a delicate matter; and then she has such superb self-reliance that probably she thought she would spare you pain, whilst protecting herself."

"My brave little girl!" murmured the old man.

"Yes! she *is* a brave girl!" echoed his curate.

"I shall never attempt to cross her will again," said the old man. "I see now I can rely on her sagacity and firmness in every emergency."

CHAPTER XXXII.

A Full Confession.

ANNIE O'FARRELL had lifted the blinds, lowered the gas-jet, and allowed the gray light of the dawn to stream into the room; and still her patient had not recovered from the heavy coma, or unconsciousness, in which he had been brought from the city streets to the hospital. His face, which had been flushed when he was brought in, assumed under the more searching light of the morning a gray, ashen hue, which was made all the more ghastly by the hectic purple beneath the cheek-bones, and the thick masses of auburn hair that lay matted and clotted on his forehead. A great pain was in her heart as she watched him, dreading the first signs of returning consciousness and her own recognition. For the words, as of a despairing soul, came back and smote her with their dread significance:

"It is things like these that drive men to the devil."

She thought of her proud aloofness and coldness toward him with a remorse that no reasoning could stifle; for a generous heart will admit of no excuse for itself where it has erred. She argued: I was not bound to recognize or notice him. The accident of our acquaintance some years ago did not oblige me to resume that acquaintance under altered circumstances. I was quite justified in what I did, and also in what I said, bitter though it might have been. I meant it as a corrective and I hoped it would have such an effect.

But what woman's heart would accept such reasoning in face of a stricken thing? All in vain. She bathed the temples of the boy in camphor and vinegar, and it is possible they were diluted with a tear.

The day nurse came on duty at eight o'clock; and Annie prepared to depart.

"One of our young hospital students," she said, explaining, "brought in during the night."

"Apoplectic?"

"No! He has had one violent hemorrhage, and it may recur. This is the prescription, should it have to be renewed; but I think there is sufficient in this bottle for the day. And here is the ergotine for injection."

"Wycherly?" said the young nurse, reading. "Is that it? Oh! that brilliant young lad! What a pity. It seems phthisis, I suppose?"

"I hope not. We must do our best to ward it off."

"Of course," said the nurse with a little smile. "We must use particular care in Mr. Wycherly's case."

"He is one of our own students," said Annie, biting her lips. "And I know Surgeon Cleeve is deeply interested in him."

"Of course, I'm sure a good many people are interested in Mr. Wycherly. He's from the country, is he not?"

"Yes! His father is a retired navy-surgeon. His mother is dead," said Annie, who was trying heroically to keep her temper and suppress her mortification.

"Ah well! then, we must do all we can for him. Any other bad cases?"

"No! That little girl, who was operated upon, was restless during the night. And I fear Mrs. Williams's temperature will

be found abnormally high. Call Dr. Alison's attention to it. Don't forget. And that girl, Alice Lane, has had no sleep still. I don't think she closed her eyes during the night. But here is the chart. I'm dying for a cup of tea."

Despite the presence of her watchful and critical fellow-nurse, she went over and examined her patient minutely again. But he was still unconscious of her presence. She re-arranged his dress and the bed clothes, bathed his forehead and lips again, put back the matted hair, and glanced around. The little nurse had thoughtfully gone out, and Annie followed her.

When she returned in the evening for night-duty, Jack Wycherly was quite conscious, and somewhat better. There had been no recurrence of hemorrhage during the day. But he lay very still and quiet; and for some time he did not notice the change of nurses, everything had been done so gently. He appeared to be quite absorbed in his own thoughts, as he stared before him; and Annie glided about the room unnoticed, went out, and come back again.

Then suddenly she spoke and he recognized her, and a deep flush shot up and changed the pallor of his face. She noticed it and said at once:

"You are ever so much better, Mr. Wycherly. But you must keep awfully quiet. You had a slight hemorrhage, and we must prevent its recurrence."

"Was it slight?" he said. "Because there is some pain here." He pointed to the apex of the left lung.

"I mean slight, that is, of no consequence," she answered, "provided it does not come on again. And you know that the least excitement will bring it on."

"I am altogether in your hands, Annie," he said simply. "Do with me what you please."

And during the greater part of the night very few words passed between nurse and patient; only the latter seemed to follow her with his eyes everywhere when he was awake. He thanked her very gently for all the little offices she performed for him, but did not seem anxious to enter into fuller conversation.

The senior surgeon, with whom Jack Wycherly had been a favorite pupil, came in during the next day to see him. He treated the boy with rough good-humor, but examined the lung

carefully. He then made a few inquiries about his history, parentage, etc., and went out looking very grave.

"I never thought that fellow would drink," he said to another surgeon. "He struck me as a model of steadiness. Still I can't account for that sudden hemorrhage. There was a street row, you say?"

"Yes, and I think he was struck violently just there. It was an unfortunate affair."

"We must do something with these young chaps. Hallo! there, Fleming!"

A young student came over.

"Do you know anything of Wycherly's accident?"

"No, sir!" said the student promptly.

"And, of course, if you did, you wouldn't tell."

"No, sir! But I don't think there's much to tell. Wycherly was the steadiest fellow in the College; and I'm sure 'twas none of our fellows he had the row with."

"Did you ever see him under the influence of drink?"

"Never, sir, 'pon me—ahem! He might take a liquor, like any of us, but that's all!"

"I'm afraid he has taken one too much!" said the man of science meaningly.

Toward evening Wycherly became very restless and his temperature ran up to 102. There was no exciting cause apparently; but the nurse thought it necessary to summon the resident surgeon. It was quite true. The temperature had risen. Of course the approach of night would account for a little increase, but not for so much.

"Wycherly," said the surgeon, "you are worrying or fretting about something?"

"No!" said the patient feebly. "But I feel feverish."

"And you are feverish," said the surgeon. "Now, will you keep your mind absolutely quiet; and, Miss O'Donnell, will you mention to the night-nurse that she is not to allow Mr. Wycherly even to speak, except when absolutely necessary. This night's rest is of supreme importance."

But during the lone evening hours, when the failing sunlight trembled in the sick-room, and the twilight was gathering, he seemed to become still more restless, until at last Annie arrived,

looking ever so neat and cool and spruce after her morning's rest, when he heaved a deep sigh and closed his eyes as if in peace.

During the next few days he advanced, retrograded, was sometimes in his normal mood, sometimes excited, to the great astonishment of the surgeon.

"Look here, Wycherly," he said one day, after making a patient and searching examination of symptoms, "there is something on your mind which you ought to get rid of. You should be up and moving about now; but I can't let you get up with such a pulse as that. And the lung is healing up. Can't you keep quiet and let mind and body rest together?"

"There's nothing on my mind," said Jack Wycherly. "You're quite mistaken, doctor. It must be some febrile symptoms lurking in the system."

"Of course, it is," said the doctor sententiously. "They are lurking in your brain somewhere; and, until you get them out, you'll not be well."

Far out in the night, indeed in the very creeping inward of the dawn, the patient called Annie gently to his side. She came over. He said:

"Sit down!"

Then, after a few seconds staring at the ceiling, he said, almost in a whisper:

"Annie?"

"Well?" she said, very unwilling to enter into conversation for many reasons. She was always afraid now that he would reveal himself.

"The doctor says that I am feverish because I have something on my mind. He's right. I have!"

She became very nervous now and began to ask herself if she were concerned.

"Then wouldn't it be well to see a clergyman?" she suggested, half frightened at the possibility of being made the recipient of his confidences. "It will be quite easy to send for any clergyman of your church whom you may desire to see."

"No!" he said faintly. "'Tis no crime, although God knows I'm not faultless. It is something that concerns you; and it is to you I must tell it."

Annie became very nervous now, and to gain time she said:

"I think I hear something in the ward. I shall be back in a moment."

The little run around the adjacent ward did compose her a little. Then, on the threshold of the door, as she returned, she paused to make up her mind. The question was, would she listen or refuse to listen to the young student's explanations. She knew it meant pain and anguish of spirit to herself—perhaps some revelation that would banish her peace of mind forever. She was studying the gas-jet over her head as she stood outside the door. He coughed gently inside; and, casting all thought of self aside, she made a swift, generous resolution, and entering she sat down calmly by the student's bedside.

"I don't wish to pain you, Annie," he said, "and I shall be very brief. You know—no, you don't know, how I hate and abominate myself for having appeared before *you*, once, twice, thrice, under a shameful aspect."

"If that's all, Jack," she said consolingly, "dismiss it from your mind. Boys will be boys. Forget it and try to do better."

"That's your goodness," he said, feebly picking the counterpane, "but it is not my excuse. Do you know I'm glad this has occurred," he pointed to his chest. "I was on the high road to ruin—through despair."

She now remembered his words with a pang.

"I'm all right now," he said; "I have been stopped on the very brink of perdition. My life is forfeit, but I am saved."

She thought these were evangelical ideas belonging to his religion; and she paid no heed to them. She felt relieved.

"Tell me, Annie," he said after a pause, "does your religion bind you to believe in hell—retribution?"

"Yes!" she said. "But, my dear Mr. Wycherly, I am awfully ignorant. I know nothing of these things. Won't you consult your clergyman?"

He smiled grimly.

"I am not going to force religion on you," he said. "It was one of our bargains long ago, Annie, when you taught me the Latin grammar! But there *is* a hell, Annie, and I have gone through it. It is to worship far away and far off some great being, and then to know that you have made yourself forever unworthy of her!"

Annie stood up to go. He was startled, and piteously begged her to remain.

"I promise—my head is somewhat light, Annie, and I have weakly betrayed myself — not to hurt your feelings again. Would you let me have a little milk?"

She got some milk and soda; and raised and supported the boy's head, whilst he sipped it.

He lay back refreshed on his pillow, and she was hoping that she would hear no more. But after a few seconds' pause he continued:

"Let me come to the point at once and have done with it. You know, Annie, that I was struck on that night when I was brought in here?"

"Yes!" she said. "So the report has it?"

"And probably you supposed it was a wretched street-brawl?"

She was silent.

"Unfortunately no," he continued. "It was my brother, Ned —you remember Ned—who gave me my death-blow, and it was all on your account."

She gave a gasp of surprise and horror.

"Yes!" he went on, as if to himself, "you have a right to be shocked and even to feel that it is an insult. Many a time I have regretted that you should have ever known us."

"I have never regretted it," she said. "If it was only to have made your good father's acquaintance, I should be glad of it."

"Thank you, Annie," he said. "These are kind, and I know they are truthful words. And—*he* is grateful. But for other reasons, I regretted it. Tell me, did Edward, Ned, ever insult you?"

"I think, Mr. Wycherly," she said, "you are not serving any good purpose in calling up such things. They have long since passed from my memory and I would rather not recall them."

"That's because you are generous and forgiving," he said. "But Ned and my father have fallen out about something—something serious. My father has told him he must never inherit Rohira, nor any of his property."

He stopped to recover breath.

"In fact, I think father intends that I should be the future owner of the place; and he has written to me to ascertain if I would abandon my profession. On the other hand, Kerins—you remember Kerins, who holds Crossfields, just above Rohira?

—is leaving for America, and Ned, who has money, is negotiating for the purchase. He intends to settle there."

"That would be disagreeable for your father, would it not?" asked Annie.

"Certainly, he will not like it," said the boy. "But Ned will only buy Crossfields on one condition, namely that you will be his wife!"

It would be difficult to describe the tumult of anger, shame, and wounded pride that swept over the soul of the girl at these words. She was silent for a while with indignation and could only say in a tone of astonishment and incredulity:

"Me? What a shame! You shouldn't have said such a thing, Mr. Wycherly. I would take it as an insult from any other person."

"And you would be quite right," he continued, more calmly, as if he had been reassured on an important point. "But you understand my motives. Let me continue. The rest is brief. He came up to town that day for no other reason than to find out where you resided and place his wishes before you. He dined at my lodgings, and far out in the evening, when he had taken drink, he opened up his mind to me. I couldn't conceal my disgust, and — alas! — I, too, drank freely then. Several times he urged me to communicate with you; and, when I refused, he wanted me to tell him where you lived, at what hour he might call, at what hour he might see you, etc. I gave no information; and to rid myself of the annoyance I left the house, and went into the street. Half-mad from drink and anger, he followed me and persisted in annoying me. Then, suddenly using words that I shall not repeat, he struck me violently in the chest, and instantly I knew my mouth was full of blood. 'Ned, you've killed me,' I said. And then I fell senseless."

The little gas-jet was singing softly to itself as the boy ended his story, and there was much silence in the room. He appeared relieved, but Annie was struck with horror at the thought of this man's pursuing her. Then a more gentle idea swept across her mind, and she remembered that this boy had given his life for her sake. She instantly recalled herself to a sense of duty and stood up.

"I hope your mind is quite relieved?" she said.

"Quite so," he replied. "But I fear I have thrown over the burden upon you. But, Annie—"

"Well?" she said, somewhat impatiently, for her mind was torn with anguish.

"I mustn't distress you further," he murmured, "but surely —no!—I cannot say it!"

"Say what you please," she replied rather coldly.

"I mean, Annie, that I hope, in fact I'm sure, you will never dream of entertaining for a moment the idea—"

He stopped short. He could not utter the word.

"I mean," he continued, trying to get a mild equivalent in words for the thought that was burning his mind, "that you will never allow Ned to address you on that subject."

"Make your mind at rest," she said. "He will never address me."

The day-surgeon found in the afternoon of the next day that the patient's temperature was quite normal. And in a few days he was permitted to leave his room. But to every anxious inquiry as to whether the disease would disappear, or reappear under more alarming circumstances, the senior surgeon only shook his head.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

Conspiring.

DICK DUGGAN was growing impatient. In his constant supervision over Kerins and his covetous watchfulness over Crossfields farm, he had noticed that Kerins was not drinking himself into his grave half-fast enough for his wishes. He would have put a distillery at his door, if he could expedite the ruin of this man, who stood in the way of his felicity. But, somehow, Kerins seemed to have stood still and paused on the brink of ruin; and to Dick's intense disgust, after some weeks had passed by, it was noticed that the young priest, Father Henry Liston, was in the habit of visiting there; that, as a probable result thereof, Kerins had given up drink absolutely; and that, as a climax to the calamity, Mass had been said in

Crossfields, and rumor had it that Kerins had been to Confession and Communion.

This was intolerable. The hopes that had been suddenly raised were now dashed to the ground. It was quite clear that, under the care and zealous watchfulness of the young priest, Kerins had turned over a new leaf in life, and might now be considered once more on the high road to prosperity. Dick Duggan gave up his morning vigils and remained in bed, instead of sullenly contemplating the gray thatched roof and the dewy fields that lay around the coveted farm. But it created an additional grievance against the priests, whose untimely zeal had wrested, as he thought, the prize from his grasp. It roused at the same time a secret fury in his soul against the man on whose misfortunes he had been hoping to build up his own prosperity.

There was another person, also interested and still more deeply annoyed by the sudden conversion of Kerins from a sot to a decent, industrious man. Ned Wycherly now saw clearly that a prize was slipping from his grasp—perhaps a double prize, because how could he ask Annie O'Farrell to marry him, if he had no home to offer her? Again and again he approached Kerins on the subject, always meeting evasive answers, which became by degrees emphatic refusals. It was just before that period, and whilst he still clung to the hope that he could purchase Crossfields, that he went to the City to see Annie O'Farrell and strive to gain her consent.

All these dreams had now vanished, and he saw himself an outcast from his father's home and with little but a hopeless future before him.

It was in one of his angry and despairful moods he met Dick Duggan one evening and gradually brought the subject about in their conversation. They met in the boreen that ran down from the rear of Crossfields farm toward Dunkerrin Castle. Wycherly was coming up from the beach, and Dick was going to see Pete on some secret errand.

"You needn't go down," said Ned Wycherly. "Pete is coming up to the house with some messages after me and will be here directly."

"We do be sayin', Masther Ned," said Dick, "that some day or another that same Pete will be after getting himself and others into throuble."

"How is that?" said Wycherly. "Pete is an honest fellow enough—that is, as honest as any half-dozen of my acquaintance. He works well; and, if his women steal a little, sure that's in their gipsy blood."

"Thrue for you!" said Dick. "But the law of the land is a wonhderful thing intirely. It has very long arrums and very sharp eyes."

"Not sharper than a gipsy's, especially a gipsy woman's," said Wycherly. "Besides, no one around here is going to bother about an occasional goose or hen."

"If you were to hear the Yank in his liquor swearin' at 'em, you wouldn't think so," said Dick. "I heard him wan night some months ago; an' he was sayin' things that would wake up even a barrack of police."

"They say he's not going to America now," said Wycherly, anxious enough to turn the conversation, which was verging on dangerous issues. "He has sobered up; and some of my men told me they saw a van of furniture going in there this week."

"'Twill go out agin the same way," said Dick. "And that before long. Here's Pete!"

The gipsy, holding a coil of rope loosely on one arm and the rudder of a small punt in the other, came lightly up the pathway. He had seen the two men in close conversation whilst he was far away, but he now seemed to start slightly and to be somewhat disturbed at meeting them. He drew back a little, but Wycherly said cheerily:

"Come on, Pete! There's no one here but Duggan, and he has some business with you."

"Oh, 'tis nothin' at all, nothin' at all," said Dick with affected cheerfulness. "Only the loant of somethin' I wanted down at the ould castle. But it can wait."

"Did you hear that Kerins had given up the notion of America?" said Wycherly, addressing Pete.

"Yes!" said Pete, looking earnestly at Dick Duggan. "He's furnishing up the old place and is about to be married."

"There, Duggan, you see I was right," said Wycherly maliciously. "The 'little father' knows everything worth knowing. But Dick says he can't hold it long," he continued, addressing Pete. "He says that the new furniture will be soon going out the way it came in."

"I doubt that," said the little father gravely. "He's a stubborn fellow, that Kerins, and when he once takes a right turn he'll stick to it."

"Unless some wan gives him a showlder and puts him in the wrong turn agin," said Dick, whose temper was gradually rising.

"Well, in any case, I fear you'll have to wait for the young mistress and Crossfields, Dick," said Wycherly, who was anxious to get from Dick all that he knew.

"Yes! Masther Ned," said the angry peasant. "And I'm afraid your honor will have to wait, too, before you add Crossfields to Rohira and bring the priesht's niece in wid you."

"There was no danger of that," said Wycherly, coolly fanning the flames of the poor fellow's passion. "There was religion barring the way there. But why should Dolly Sullivan give you the 'go-by,' Dick, and take to the Yank? It is a shame for a fine fellow like you to allow that splendid girl to throw herself away on an old dried-up curmudgeon like Kerins."

It is the unhappy lot, hitherto, of the Irish peasant that he has never learned to curb his temper. It is the great traitor of his race. When it is touched, there is no secret so deep that it may not be unraveled, no resolution so strong that it may not be repealed. Wycherly knew well how to play on the double organ, whose keys elicit truth, even though they drive out dangerous sparks with it—the double organ of jealousy and hate.

Some faint suspicion that Martha Sullivan had been won from his side by this detested Yankee had already winged its way to Dick Duggan's ears, but had been promptly rejected as impossible. Now, apparently, it was the talk of the parish, and, coupled with the refurnishing of the house, it brought a terrible conviction home to the heart of the unhappy young man. He had lost Crossfields forever, and he had been jilted in favor of a detested rival. His cup of bitterness was full. His dark, swarthy face became livid under the terrible excitement, as he clenched his fists together and said:

"You may be jokin', or you may be in airnest, Masther Ned, an' I'm thinkin' the joke will be turned agin you yet, and that you'll laugh at the other side of your mouth, if all the people do be sayin' is thrue. But that's your own affair. An' 'tis your own affair, too, that the priesht's niece, widout a pinny to

bless herself wid, have given you the cowld showlder. But, in respect of Kerins, don't be afeared that anny man or 'uman in the parish 'ud laugh at me. For, by the Lord God, I'll make sich an example of Kerins, an' all belonging to him, an' all that have anythin' to say to him, that it'll be remimbered in the parish as long as the ould castle shtands there forninst the sea."

"Take care!" said Wycherly carelessly, "he carries his shooting-irons with him wherever he goes, and a bullet goes faster than a shillelah."

"An' there's somethin' faster than a bullet," said Dick savagely, as he moved away, "*and it makes no noise.*"

"He's a dangerous man," said Wycherly to Pete, as Dick passed out of sight. "I shouldn't care to meet him in the dark, if he had anything against me. But look here, Pete! He was hinting at our own affairs just before you came up. The chase is getting hot again, and I think I shall take another run to sea."

"The last didn't serve you much," said Pete. "I told you you made a mistake in leaving the old man too much alone. You have given in too easily. You may not win the wife you hoped for; but, as the people about here say, 'There's as good fish in the sea as ever were caught.' But there's only one Rohira."

"True!" said Wycherly, musing. "'But you don't know how stubborn the old man is. He never liked me. Everything is coming out against me. And we are certainly in some danger now. There are spies somewhere. You heard what Duggan said about Kerins and his talk when he's in liquor."

"Yes," said "the little father," "Kerins stands in everybody's way."

And the remark led him into a mood of musing, from which the impatient Wycherly aroused him.

"I suppose you've heard that Jack has been very unwell and is coming home?"

"Yes! I have heard," said Pete.

"He may get over this, or he may probably be ordered abroad," said Wycherly. "I was thinking that perhaps we might get a message from the—sea-spirit to my father in connexion with Jack."

"A message? Yes!" said Pete, not comprehending.

"I mean a word from—my—my—," the horrid words seemed to choke him, "my mother to the effect that this illness of Jack's is a punishment, a retribution, or something for my father's treatment of me."

"Ha!" said Pete, grasping at the idea.

"You know, Pete," said Wycherly, appealing to the selfish nature of the man, "you and yours can never be safe under a stranger. If Jack comes in, out you go. If I can take my rightful place as master here, you and the old woman and your children are safe forever."

"Unless I am jugged," said Pete, with a shrug of the shoulders, "which is as likely as not. But," he added, his dark eyes kindling into a blaze as he spoke, "I won't go down without bringing many with me."

"That's quite right!" said Wycherly. "But the quietest way of working our point is the best, so long as we can pursue it. If we can wind up this little business of ours, which is becoming more dangerous every day, and if we can get the old man to change his mind, all will be well. I look upon Jack as already out of my way."

"The old woman foretold it," said Pete. "The evening these young ladies were here, Judith told him that the spirit of his mother was calling him to come."

"Ha! very good," said Wycherly. "Let us have another message from the dead, and all will be right with father."

"I'll see!" said Pete. Then, as if another idea was preoccupying him, he said:

"Which of the two is the more dangerous for us—Kerins or Duggan?"

Wycherly reflected a little.

"Kerins, certainly! Duggan is little better than a fool! Have you got away the last of that ensilage?"

"Not all. There are a few packages still left. But all's right now. That pressed hay was a good idea. There isn't the slightest suspicion."

He turned away, muttering:

"Pity you haven't more nerve. What a fortune was in our hands."

CHAPTER XXXIV.

THE SEA-SPIRIT VANISHES.

CHRISTMAS came in that year, not softly and muggily, with down-hanging skies and weeping clouds, bringing to many lips the old adage: "A green Christmas makes a fat churchyard;" but it came in its white ermine and diamonds of frost and white pearls of icicles pendent from slated roof and lowly thatch; and the white snowy raiment stretched down thick and soft, from the roofs of Rohira along the steep slope that plunged downward to the sea, whose dark expanses, unflecked even by the foam of breakers, extended in one unbroken line toward the melancholy horizon. Picturesque and coldly beautiful as it was, there was an aspect of sadness and loneliness around it, as of a land of death and a sea of desolation; where the imagination could hardly conjure up the dream of departed summers, or summers yet to be, but now coiled up and hidden beneath the fierce frown of a wintry landscape.

So thought Jack Wycherly, as he walked from the fire to the window, from the window to the fire, gazing into the latter as if he saw there his life and fortunes crumbling into white ashes under the blaze of destiny, and watching the dreary prospect from the window, as one who was studying a scene which he was not to see again. He was deeply depressed. Conscious of great powers, and with that consciousness confirmed by the verdict of his superiors, he had been pushing along the paths of his profession with all that bouyancy and hope that belong to gifted and impassioned youth. He saw a great career opened before him, leading on to honors and emoluments and terminating only at the highest pinnacle of earthly success. And now, suddenly, there trickles across that sunlit path a tiny stream of blood; and the whole vision is blotted out forever. For he knew quite enough of medical science to understand that he was now drifting into that state where medical skill was practically unavailing; and all that could be done was to avert the evil day. And so the young student strode from the fire to the window, from the window to the fire, his dreary thoughts broken only by the harsh, dry cough, which instantly brought out the handkerchief and the terrible inquisition, Was blood there?

Edward Wycherly had left the house and had gone no one knew where, except perhaps Pete the Gipsy. Whether it was a second or third angry altercation with his father, or that he dreaded meeting the victim of his drunken passion, he had fled the place; and the common report, "Gone to sea," had to satisfy the imagination of those who knew nothing of the many secrets of his life.

"I am afraid," said Dr. Wycherly, coming into the room where Jack was striding up and down, "we shall have a lonely Christmas. I was expecting a letter from Dion. He ought to have written at least at such a time. We are rather a scattered flock now."

Jack strode up and down the well-worn carpet in silence. Then he went to the window.

"Most families are scattered abroad at Christmas time," he said.

"Of course," said his father, plunging his hands deep into the pockets of his velvet jacket, "that is the case where the young are grown up and have left the nest. Although I don't like the fellow at all, I'm half sorry Ned didn't remain over the New Year."

Jack coughed slightly at the window and looked at his handkerchief.

"There is no sign of blood?" said his father, who saw the action.

"No!" said Jack. "And I know it is foolish to be so nervous about it. But when one has got a bad fright, it sticks to him."

"I still can't bring myself to believe that it was entirely constitutional, as your doctors say. I don't believe the lung could have softened so much without some symptoms revealing themselves. I'm sure it was some accident. You pushed against something, or strained yourself in some way. And you know that doesn't count for much."

"I'm afraid you are too sanguine, father," Jack replied. "I don't deceive myself. The symptoms are unmistakable."

"That means you're going abroad also?" said his father querulously. "If phthisis reveals itself, this would be no climate for you to dwell in."

And the white, dismal landscape and the steel-gray sky and the melancholy ocean seemed to reply: "Yes! This is no place for an invalid. Let him go, and as speedily as possible!"

That evening after dinner the doctor introduced the subject again.

"Strange," he said, "not a line as yet from Dion. One would think he could not forget the old home at such a time."

The old butler in the faded coat had put a few sprigs of holly here and there in heavy vases on the mantelpiece, in crevices on the great massive sideboard, in the heavy mouldings of picture-frames which held the cracked and crumbling portraits of bygone Wycherlys. But nothing, not even the heavy silver, nor the crystal of the cut-glass, nor the masses of violets and early primulas that filled the room with the odors of spring, could dissipate the gloom that hung down on that dark chamber and seemed to interpenetrate every nook and cranny of it, even to the inmost recesses of the human hearts that beat there.

"Strange," said the old doctor, as if he were unraveling the threads of several incidents that had occurred during the day and was trying to frame something coherent from them, "strange that old woman—that old gipsy woman, Judith, challenged me to-day in the hall and told me that the spirit of my dead wife would come no more. She spoke in that prophetic manner she assumes sometimes, as if she had direct communication with the Unseen. I tried to shake it off—the spell, I mean—the fascination she seems to exercise over me when she assumes that style of talking."

"She's a thorough schemer and humbug," said Jack Wycherly hotly. "I am ever so sorry, father, that you allowed that vicious family to remain on your estate. I trace all the evils that have befallen our family to their presence."

"That's quite an absurd prejudice," said his father moodily. "They are harmless, if rude; and then they always seemed to be a link with the dear dead past. They have always told me when the spirit of my dear wife appeared to haunt the dear old spot that was so much beloved by her. I shouldn't know it but for them. An ordinary Irish family would be scared and frightened. Not so these people! I suppose," he went on dreamily, "it is their Egyptian origin, their handling strange and mysterious things for centuries, that makes them familiar with the powers that lie outside our vision. But it has been for these few years a strange consolation to know that your dear

dead mother was not cut away from us forever, but came as a kind of sea-spirit to show us that the things of eternity had not altogether cut her away from sympathy with those whom she loved in the flesh."

There was a sharp struggle in the boy's mind as to whether he would dissipate that foolish, if fond, dream forever, or leave his father in happy ignorance of the deception. But he inquired further:

"And Jude thinks the apparition has ceased and will not trouble the slumbers of the people again?"

"Yes! But that's a harsh way of putting it, Jack. The spirit of your mother, the sea-spirit, has troubled no one—nay, has been a consolation to many and a strengthening of fainting faith."

"But did Jude give any reason why this apparition should cease?" asked his son. "Why now, and not at any time these past four or five years?"

"Yes!" said his father uneasily. "She seems to hint that it is because the natural heir of the house has—gone away and will not return, and because—"

But here he stopped, unwilling to hurt the feelings of the stricken boy.

"You mean, dear father," said Jack, "that my mother's wraith, as you believe, has departed in anger, because there is no longer an heir to Rohira?"

"Not in anger! I didn't say in anger, Jack," said his father piteously. "But, you see, very naturally, when the fortunes of our house are falling into decay, the good angel of the house deserts it."

The boy coughed slightly and looked at his handkerchief.

"We must now," said his father, noticing the gesture, "or immediately after the holidays, ascertain if there are bacilli in that sputum. I don't think myself there are. In fact, from experience I would rather judge that there are not. These hemorrhages, and you had only one, Jack, are not the dangerous symptoms. They are quite compatible with perfect health. But should there be any symptoms of phthisis, we must get you away to a warm, dry climate—South Africa, by preference, for some time. But there's time enough, time enough."

"That's the opinion of our senior surgeon, too," said Jack

Wycherly. "It is not a pleasant prospect, but we have to submit to our destinies."

The poor lad was suffering under violent emotion and he went over and lay down on a sofa near the fire, thinking of many things.

Down at the presbytery the same three persons who were assembled together that Christmas night four or five years ago, the old blind pastor, his curate, and his niece, were also met together on this Christmas night. The room was unchanged in appearance. One would have thought it was the identical fire that was leaping and sparkling in the grate. It was certainly the same picture of the Holy Family that looked down upon the living, as it was the self-same carpet, though more worn and frayed, that was beneath their feet. The self-same lamp threw its mellow, softened light on the table and lit up the long rows of leather-covered books, that seemed never to have been removed from their places. But the living were changed, fearfully changed, even to their own eyes.

Darkness, almost absolute, had come down on the old priest's eyes, which were shaded by glasses so darkly blue that they seemed black in the lamp-light. His hair had thinned to baldness and his cheeks were more deeply furrowed, either by anxious thought or the very absence of that intellectual exercise which alone could dissipate it. His strong fierce temper had degenerated into a kind of gentle moroseness, which was seldom lighted up by the old flashes of humor that made his companionship so delightful. His sun was sinking under clouds, growing deeper and darker as they approached the horizon.

His curate was also changed, not so much in appearance as in thought and experience. Yet the new spiritual life he had been leading had matured and ripened his intellect so far that it became apparent in manner, which, soft and refined as ever, had yet lost that elasticity and boyish eagerness that had formerly characterized him. He had become sober, without being dull; calm without being stolid; and there was a certain halo of peace around his eyes and forehead that spoke of a spiritual life not altogether sequestered from human interests and passions.

The change in Annie O'Farrell was only the change from girl-

hood to womanhood, a little emphasized by her training and habits, and also by some new strange experience that seemed to be kindling itself in her heart and that gave to life a new idealization and pleasure, and not a little pain.

She had put aside her nurse's uniform and was dressed in a close-fitting gray costume that seemed to suit her tall and graceful figure. Her coiled hair marked her entrance into the sphere of womanhood, and her profession seemed to have stamped on her manner a certain decision and promptness, that at once demanded obedience and respect. Somehow, these excellent qualities seemed also to detract a little from feminine gracefulness and helplessness, so true is it that no accomplishment or grace is acquired except at the cost of something corresponding. But this apparent loss vanished on acquaintance, and the old, gentle, playful, feminine if firm nature revealed itself through the cloak of professional strength and severity.

There seemed, too, to be a slight restraint hovering over this family party on this Christmas night—a restraint which only wore away when the icy barriers melted down on closer fellowship. The long absence of Annie had driven back her uncle into the old impatience of society and love of solitude, which even now was unwillingly broken, and the spiritual and ascetic life which Henry Liston had been leading seemed to make even such jejune and harmless felicities foreign to his tastes. And Annie had been so much accustomed now to the daily helping and tending on the helpless, and she had seen so much of the more easy and less restrained habits of mind of gentlemen of the world, that an uneasy feeling crept down on her spirits, and there was an incipient yearning for the fuller felicities of life.

But all these little wisps of cloud vanished as the Christmas night wore on and the topics of human interest came up to be discussed.

"Do you know, sir," said Henry Liston, as the name "Rohira" turned up in the conversation, "I think there's a crisis approaching in the affairs of that house?"

"Why do you think so?" asked the pastor, but in a tone of little interest.

"Well, it seems slightly absurd to say it, but the report has gone abroad that the ghost of Dunkerrin Castle has disappeared and is not to return."

"How? Have you banished her to the bottom of the Red Sea for seven years, and is she so offended that she will not return again?"

"No!" replied his curate. "I am happy to say I have had nothing to do with the lady. But the report has gone abroad and is widely believed. The credulous seem to to take it for a sign of 'something,' as they say. The more sceptical also take it as a sign of 'something,'—more concrete, however."

"Well, now, although you are Irish enough to love an enigma, suppose you explain it. Not that it much matters," said the old man, passing his hand across his forehead wearily, "these things are of very passing interest now."

"It is only the usual foolish village gossip," said Henry Liston. "I think our friend, Jude, has so pulled the ropes that the spectre will not be seen again; and she has had it conveyed to our good friend, the doctor, that it will forebode the annihilation of his house."

Annie was now listening with all her ears, although she said nothing and tried to persuade herself that the subject did not concern her.

"It is wonderful," continued Henry, speaking to his pastor, "how the dear old doctor clings to that singular delusion about his wife's appearance. I suppose it is almost unique, at least in the case of an educated man."

"I have seen more remarkable delusions," broke in Annie, "far more harrowing fancies or visions, and always in the case of the educated and intelligent. The ruder people accept the stories of others, but seem never to come under the spell of such delusions themselves."

"Well, that is singular," said Henry. "I thought the thing first impossible, and then, unprecedented. But the doctor is now fully persuaded that the spirit of his dead wife has disappeared forever in anger, or as an omen of some impending trouble."

"Why in anger?" asked his pastor. "What could have enraged the ghost?"

"Oh, the quarrel between the eldest boy and his father," said Henry Liston, "or rather, the repeated quarrels, culminating in his final disinheritance and departure."

"I thought he had gone back to sea again and failed in the attempt," said the old man.

"Yes! He was away for a considerable time, but he seems always to have some great attraction here. But he's gone now forever. And then, as I have mentioned, the younger lad, Dion, has never been heard from, and Jack, the fair-haired lad (you remember him, Annie, he was your first pupil) is at home in a hopeless decline."

"Not quite hopeless," said Annie O'Farrell. "He was at our hospital and the doctors give hope, if he can be induced to go abroad."

"They say, that is the common report has it," added Henry Liston, "that there was a quarrel, some street-scuffle between students, and that he sustained a rupture in the lung?"

"What was the exact cause of quarrel between Dr. Wycherly and his son?" asked Annie O'Farrell evasively.

"The real cause was his wild life and the report that had reached the doctor's ears from certain sources that he was engaged in illegal work. There is no secret about the fact that smuggling to a large extent was going on along this coast, and I don't think there is much doubt now that Wycherly and Pete the Gipsy were engaged in it. A sudden swoop was made on the castle four years ago by a clever officer, but he was disappointed. They were too well prepared. But the report came to the old man's ears, and you know with these people a violation of the law is the worst of crimes. There were some angry scenes between the father and son; and young Wycherly has left —it is supposed forever."

"It is sad to see a family broken up so completely," said Annie, as if speaking to herself. "And there was such brilliant promise. Dion has never been heard of?"

"Never, they say. Some think he is ranching in America; some say he is farming at the Cape. Many think he is dead —lost at sea."

"It is very sad," said Annie musingly, "to think of that old man, who has been so good and kind, left desolate in his old age; and perhaps he will live to see Rohira in the hands of strangers. Isn't it hard to see an old name passing away? I'm sure Mary would be sorry to hear it."

"Mary has said good-bye to all human associations," said Henry Liston. "She has forgotten all these things long ago."

"I cannot believe that," said Annie, who had a strong pre-

judice against that kind of sanctity. "Her last letter to me mentioned Rohira and recalled the few happy evenings we spent there."

"Do you know it strikes me that you two are mighty solemn for young people?" said the pastor. "I'm just thinking how sober you have both become since that first Christmas you both spent here. What is it?"

But they could not answer. And in like sober, if not sombre, fashion the hours crept by to bed-time; and Henry had to get out his trap for his journey homeward.

It was still early in the night, and Annie, kept long awake by thinking of the many things about which they had been conversing, had sunk into an uneasy slumber, when the very unusual pealing of the hall-bell, pulled violently by some excited person, woke her up to perfect consciousness. After a long interval, during which the jangling of the bell never ceased, she heard the hall-door opened and a loud conversation in the hall. And presently her uncle, who had risen from bed and answered the bell, tapped at her door.

"Are you awake, Annie?" he said.

"Yes! What's the matter?" she asked.

"A messenger from Dr. Wycherly that his son has had another violent hemorrhage and requesting you to go up. I'd just as soon you wouldn't go!"

"How can I help it, uncle?" she replied. "I suppose there's no other nurse available; and this may be a matter of life or death."

"Please yourself!" he said reluctantly. "The doctor's carriage is at the door. I suppose you'll hardly return before morning."

"I dare say not!" she replied.

"I don't like it! I don't like it!" he murmured, moving away. "Oh, why did I ever bring them here?"

P. A. SHEEHAN.

Doneraile, Ireland.

Analecta.

ACTA PII PP. X.

Epistolae.

I.

AD R. P. D. THOMAM KENNEDY, EPISCOPUM TITULAREM ADRIANOPOLITANUM, RECTOREM COLLEGII FOEDERATARUM AMERICAE SEPTENTRIONALIS CIVITATUM, OB QUINQUAGESIMUM A CONDITO COLLEGIO EXEUNTEM ANNUM.

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.— Exeunte anno quinquagesimo post conditum Collegium, cui tu tam sapienter praees, gratum Nobis est, quod significas de solemnibus, quae in proximos dies celebrare constituistis. Nos quam istud Collegium habeamus carum, non te fugit; qui plus semel Nos audisti, quum diceremus valde Nobis probari fructus uberes, quos peperisset vel sanae eruditionis, vel sanctae disciplinae. Etenim in foederatis civitatibus superioris Americae quum prosperus, divino beneficio, sit rei catholicae status; ad eum parandum sane non parum contulit romanum hoc pietatis doctrinaeque domicilium: ubi adolescentes delecti, advigilante Iesu Christi Vicario, rite exculti sunt in suarum spem dioece-

sium, qui deinceps in omni sacri ministerii genere sese utilissime exercuerunt. Horum bene multos, ex eisque Archiepiscopos et Episcopos non paucos, mox, ut intelligimus, faustus iste eventus Romam evocabit, ut tecum et cum alumnis tuis communem agant, gratulantes Deo, laetitiam. Itaque laetitiae vestrae Nos venimus in partem perlibenter: quumque gaudemus, optimum Institutum et opinione bonorum, et crescente in annos singulos alumnorum numero, florere; tum divinae benignitatis eidem opem precamur, unde Romani Pontificis et venerabilium ex America Fratrum cumulate satisfacere votis perseveret. Auspicem divinorum munerum ac testem singularis benevolentiae Nostrae, tibi, venerabilis Frater, Collegio tuo et omnibus, qui istis solemnibus intererunt, apostolicam benedictionem amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die II Iunii MCMIX, Pontificatus Nostri anno sexto.

PIUS PP. X.

II.

AD R. P. D. IOSEPHUM MARIAM BOFF, ADMINISTRATOREM APOSTOLICUM DIOECESIS CLEVELANDENSIS.

Dear Monsignor,

I have received and duly presented to the Holy Father the beautiful address, so kindly forwarded by you, conveying, on the part of the clergy, secular and regular, the religious and the laity of the diocese, their united expression of loyalty to the Holy See and of deep satisfaction at the manner in which the vacancy in the chief pastoral charge of your important diocese has been filled.

His Holiness was deeply touched by this graceful act, which is as consoling and gratifying to Him as it is complimentary to the Right Rev. Monsignor Farrelly to whom it must bring encouragement in taking up the high and responsible duties placed upon him. It is also a guarantee that the new Bishop will have in Cleveland pastors and a flock in every way worthy of the zealous care which he will give to all matters connected with their spiritual welfare.

To you, to the clergy, secular and regular, to the religious and to the faithful of the diocese His Holiness sends very affectionately the Apostolic Benediction.

I am yours very sincerely in J. C.,

L. * S. R. Card. MERRY DEL VAL.

Rome, 7 May, 1909.

S. CONGREGATIO DE SACRAMENTIS.

ROMANO ET ALIARUM: DUBIA CIRCA DECRETUM DE SPONSALIBUS ET MATRIMONIO.

In plenariis comitiis a S. Congregatione de disciplina Sacramentorum habitis, die 18 mensis Iunii anno 1909, sequentia proposita fuerunt dirimenda dubia, nimirum:

I. Num responsum S. Congregationis Concilii diei 28 Martii 1908 ad II: "Exceptionem valere tantummodo pro natis in Germania ibique matrimonium contrahentibus", ita sit intelligendum, ut in quovis casu ambo coniuges debeant esse nati in Germania, seu respective in regno Hungariae.

II. An post extensionem Constitutionis *Provida* ad regnum Hungariae, Germaniam inter et Hungariam, quoad validitatem clandestinorum mixtorum matrimoniorum, reciproca relatio habeatur, ita ut duo coniuges nati ambo in Germania matrimonium mixtum clandestinum valide ineant etiam in regno Hungariae, et, viceversa, nati ambo in regno Hungariae valide contrahant clandestino quoque modo in Germania.

III. Num saltem natus in Germania cum nato in regno Hungariae mixtum matrimonium valide ineat sive in Germania sive in regno Hungariae.

Et Emi Patres ad huiusmodi dubia ita respondendum censuerunt:

Ad I. *Affirmative.*

Ad II. *Negative.*

Ad III. *Negative.*

D. Card. FERRATA, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

PH. GIUSTINI, *Secretarius.*

S. CONGREGATIO S. OFFICII.

Die 26 Novembris, 1908.

SSmus D. N. D. Pius div. prov. Papa X, in audientia R. P. D. Adsessori S. Officii impertita, universis christifidelibus qui *duodecim sabbatis haud interruptis festum Immaculatae Conceptionis B. Mariae Virginis,* confessi ac S. Synaxi refecti, sive precibus sive piis meditationibus ad honorem eiusdem B. Virginis absque macula originalis culpae conceptae, vacaverint, et ad mentem Summi Pontificis pias ad Deum preces effuderint, plenariam indulgentiam, defunctis quoque applicabilem, singulis memoratis sabbatis lucrifaciendam, benigne concessit in perpetuum absque ulla Brevis expeditione. Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

ALOISIUS CAN. GIAMBENE, *Substitutus pro Indulgentiis.*

L. * S.

S. CONGREGATIO DE RELIGIOSIS.

DECRETUM QUO SPECIALES CLAUSULAE APPONUNTUR INDULTO SAECULARIZATIONIS, VIRIS RELIGIOSIS DEINCEPS CONCEDENDO.

Ex audientia SSmi, die 15 Iunii, 1909.

Quum minoris esse soleat aedificationis, salvis extraordinariis nonnullis casibus, quod in officiis dioecesanis eminere conspiciantur, qui, vel in aliquo Ordine regulari vota solemnia professi, indultum saecularizationis sive perpetuae sive ad tempus obtinuerint, vel in Instituto aliquo religioso, emissis votis perpetuis, ab istis dispensati fuerint; ne alii inde Religiosi induci possint, ut varios egrediendi claustra praetextus exquirant, quod nimis frequens accidere experientia docet, sanctissimus Dominus noster Pius Papa decimus decernere dignatus est, ut omnibus deinceps rescriptis, quibus saecularizatio perpetua vel ad tempus, aut votorum perpetuorum relaxatio, prout supra, sacerdotibus et clericis in sacris ordinibus constitutis conceditur, adnexae intendantur, licet non expressae, sequentes clausulae, quarum dispensatio Sanctae Sedi reservatur:

Vetitis, absque novo et speciali Sanctae Sedis indulto:

1.° quolibet officio, et, quoad eos qui ad beneficia habilitati sunt, quolibet beneficio in basilicis maioribus vel minoribus, et in ecclesiis cathedralibus;

2.° quolibet magisterio et officio in seminariis clericalibus maioribus et minoribus aliisque Institutis, in quibus clerici educantur, nec non in Universitatibus et Institutis, quae privilegio apostolico gaudent conferendi gradus academicos in re philosophica, theologica et canonica;

3.° quocumque officio vel munere in Curiis episcopalibus;

4.° officio Visitatoris et Moderatoris domorum Religiosorum utriusque sexus, etiamsi agatur de congregationibus mere dioecesanis;

5.° habituali domicilio in locis, ubi exstat conventus, vel domus religiosa Provinciae, vel Missionis, cui sacerdos vel clericus saecularizatus, vel a votis perpetuis solutus, ut supra, adscriptus erat.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, eodem die 15 Iunii, 1909.

Fr. I. C. Card. Vives, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

D. Laurentius Janssens, O.S.B., *Secretarius.*

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM.

Circa Privilegia Externae Solemnitatis SS. Cordis Iesu et S. Aloisii Gonzaga.

Circa privilegia respectivae Missae propriae in externa solemnitate de S. Aloisio Gonzaga confessore et de sacratissimo Corde Iesu, quae indulta fuere per decreta sacrorum Rituum Congregationis n. 3918, diei 27 Iunii, 1896, et n. 3960 *Romana*, 23 Iulii, 1897, nuper ab eadem sacra Congregatione exquisitum fuit: Quaenam sint Dominicae, feriae, vigiliae et octavae, quae excludunt Missas lectas proprias in utraque solemnitate praedicta?

Et sacra Rituum Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito Commissionis liturgicae voto, ita respondendum censuit: Sunt Dominicae privilegiatae I et II classis, feria IV Cinerum, feriae maioris hebdomadae; vigiliae Nativitatis

Domini et Pentecostes; octavae Nativitatis Domini, Epiphaniae, Paschatis, Pentecostes et Corporis Christi.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 16 Iunii, 1909.

Fr. S. Card. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

✠ D. PANICI, Archiep. Laodicen., *Secretarius.*

S. CONGREGATIO INDICIS.

DECRETUM QUO PROHIBENTUR QUIDAM LIBRI.

Feria II, die 5 Iulii, 1909.

Sacra Congregatio Emorum ac Rmorum S. R. E. Cardinalium a SSmo Domino nostro Pio PP. X Sanctaque Sede Apostolica Indici librorum pravae doctrinae, eorundemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universa christiana republica praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in palatio apostolico vaticano die 5 Iulii, 1909, damnavit et damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, atque in Indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat quae sequuntur opera:

IOSEPH TURMEL, *Histoire du dogme de la papauté; des origines à la fin du IV^e siècle. Paris, Alphonse Picard et Fils, 1908.*

—Histoire du dogme du péché originel. Macon, Protat Frères, 1900.

—L'Eschatologie à la fin du IV^e siècle. Ibid., 1900.

GUILLAUME HERZOG, *La sainte Vièrge dans l'histoire. Paris, Emile Nourry, 1908.*

ROMOLO MURRI, *Battaglie d'oggi. 4 vol. Roma, Società I. C. di cultura, 1903-4.*

—Democrazia e cristianesimo; i principii comuni (Programma della Società nazionale di cultura). Roma, Società nazionale di cultura, 1906.

—La vita religiosa nel cristianesimo; discorsi. Ibid., 1907.

—La filosofia nuova e l'enciclica contro il modernismo. Ibid., 1908.

SOSTENE GELLI, *Psicologia della religione; note ed appunti. Roma, Società nazionale di cultura, 1905.*

FILOSOFIA DELLA FEDE; *Appunti.* Stampato in Roma, tip. dell'Unione cooperativa editrice, s. a.

FORTUNATO RUSSO, *La Curia romana nella sua organizzazione e nel suo completo funzionamento; diritto e psicologia. 2ª ediz. Palermo, tip. Gazzetta commerciale, 1908.*

Itaque nemo cuiuscumque gradus et conditionis praedicta opera damnata atque proscripta, quocumque loco et quocumque idiomate, aut in posterum edere, aut edita legere vel retinere audeat, sub poenis in Indice librorum vetitorum indictis.

TELESPHORUS SMYTH-VAUDRY decreto S. Congregationis, edito die 4 Ianuarii, 1909, quo liber ab eo conscriptus notatus et in Indicem librorum prohibitorum insertus est, laudabiliter se subiecit. Etiam auctores librorum sub pseudonymis LEFRANC et JÉHAN DE BONNEFOY evulgatorum, et ab hac S. Congregatione decretis dierum 11 Decembris, 1906 et 4 Ianuarii, 1909 prohibitorum, his decretis laudabiliter se subiecerunt.

Quibus SSmo Domino nostro Pio Papae X per me infrascriptum Secretarium relatis, Sanctitas Sua decretum probavit, et promulgari praecepit. In quorum fidem etc.

Datum Romae, die 6 Iulii, 1909.

F. Card. SEGNA, *Praefectus.*

L. * S.

THOMAS ESSER, O.P., *Secretarius.*

COMMISSIO DE RE BIBLICA.

DE CHARACTERE HISTORICO TRIUM PRIORUM CAPITUM GENESEOS.

I. Utrum varia systemata exegetica, quae ad excludendum sensum litteralem historicum trium priorum capitum libri Geneseos excogitata et scientiae fuco propugnata sunt, solido fundamento fulciantur?

Resp. *Negative.*

II. Utrum non obstantibus indole et forma historica libri Geneseos, peculiari trium priorum capitum inter se et cum sequentibus capitibus nexu, multiplici testimonio Scripturarum

tum veteris tum novi Testamenti, unanimi fere sanctorum Patrum sententia ac traditionali sensu, quem, ab israëlitico etiam populo transmissum, semper tenuit Ecclesia, doceri possit, praedicta tria capita Geneseos continere non rerum vere gestarum narrationes, quae scilicet obiectivae realitati et historicae veritati respondeant; sed vel fabulosa ex veterum populorum mythologiis et cosmogoniis deprompta et ab auctore sacro, expurgato quovis polytheismi errore, doctrinae monotheisticae accommodata; vel allegorias et symbola, fundamento obiectivae realitatis destituta, sub historiae specie ad religiosas et philosophicas veritates inculcandas proposita; vel tandem legendas ex parte historicas et ex parte fictitias ad animorum instructionem et aedificationem libere compositas?

Resp. *Negative* ad utramque partem.

III. Utrum speciatim sensus litteralis historicus vocari in dubium possit, ubi agitur de factis in eisdem capitibus enarratis, quae christianae religionis fundamenta attingunt: uti sunt, inter caetera, rerum universarum creatio a Deo facta in initio temporis; peculiaris creatio hominis; formatio primae mulieris ex primo homine; generis humani unitas; originalis protoparentum felicitas in statu iustitiae, integritatis et immortalitatis; praeceptum a Deo homini datum ad eius obedientiam probandam; divini praecepti, diabolo sub serpentis specie suasore, transgressio; protoparentum deiectio ab illo primaevo innocentiae statu; nec non Reparatoris futuri promissio?

Resp. *Negative.*

IV. Utrum in interpretandis illis horum capitum locis, quos Patres et Doctores diverso modo intellexerunt, quin certi quippiam definitique tradiderint, liceat, salvo Ecclesiae iudicio servataque fidei analogia, eam quam quisque prudenter probaverit, sequi tuerique sententiam?

Resp. *Affirmative.*

V. Utrum omnia et singula, verba videlicet et phrases, quae in praedictis capitibus occurrunt, semper et necessario accipienda sint sensu proprio, ita ut ab eo discedere numquam liceat, etiam cum locutiones ipsae manifesto appareant improprie, seu metaphorice vel anthropomorphice, usurpatae, et sensum

proprium vel ratio tenere prohibeat vel necessitas cogat dimittere?

Resp. *Negative.*

VI. Utrum, praesupposito litterali et historico sensu, nonnullorum locorum eorumdem capitum interpretatio allegorica et prophetica, praefulgente sanctorum Patrum et Ecclesiae ipsius exemplo, adhiberi sapienter et utiliter possit?

Resp. *Affirmative.*

VII. Utrum, cum in conscribendo primo Geneseos capite non fuerit sacri auctoris mens intimam adspectabilium rerum constitutionem ordinemque creationis completum scientifico more docere; sed potius suae genti tradere notitiam popularem, prout communis sermo per ea ferebat tempora, sensibus et captui hominum accommodatam, sit in horum interpretatione adamussim semperque investiganda scientifici sermonis proprietas?

Resp. *Negative.*

VIII. Utrum in illa sex dierum denominatione atque distinctione, de quibus in Geneseos capite primo, sumi possit vox *Yôm* (dies), sive sensu proprio pro die naturali, sive sensu improprio pro quodam temporis spatio, deque huiusmodi quaestione libere inter exegetas disceptare liceat?

Resp. *Affirmative.*

Die autem 30 Iunii, 1909, in audientia ambobus Rmis Consultoribus ab actis benigne concessa, Sanctissimus praedicta responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

Romae, die 30 Iunii, 1909.

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, P.S.S.

L. * S. LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.

ROMAN CURIA.

Official announcement is made of the following Consistorial nominations:

21 June: Mgr. Richard Collins, Titular Bishop of Selinus, and heretofore auxiliary for Hexham and Newcastle, appointed Bishop of the latter See.

Mgr. Francis MacCormack, heretofore Bishop of Galway and Kilmacduagh, nominated to the Titular Archbishopric of Nisibi.

30 June: Mgr. George W. Mundelein, Chancellor of Brooklyn, raised to the Titular Bishopric of Lorima, and appointed auxiliary to the Bishop of Brooklyn.

Mgr. Edmund M. Dunne, Chancellor of Chicago, appointed to the See of Peoria, Illinois.

The Secretariate of State issues the following nominations with Pontifical Briefs:

12 June: The Very Rev. John J. Prendergast, Vicar General of the Archdiocese of San Francisco, California, made Domestic Prelate.

18 June: The Rev. Isaac Patrick Whelan, Rector of the Cathedral of Newark, made Domestic Prelate.

22 June: The Rev. Joseph Martinière, Vicar General of the Diocese of Dallas, nominated Protonotary Apostolic *ad instar participantium.*

The Rev. Joseph Blum, Dean and Rector at Sherman in the Diocese of Dallas, made Domestic Prelate.

The Rev. Louis Granger, Dean at Marshall, in the Diocese of Dallas, made Domestic Prelate.

30 June: Mgr. John MacCarthy, Vicar Forane and Rector of St. John Bapt. at Fresno in the Diocese of Monterey and Los Angeles, Calif., made Domestic Prelate.

The Rev. Louis Polanco, Canon of the Cathedral of Lima, made Domestic Prelate.

The Rev. James Tovar, Canon of the Cathedral of Lima, made Domestic Prelate.

The Rev. Charles G. Trigoyen, Canon of the Cathedral of Lima, made Domestic Prelate.

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11 June: The Holy Father has appointed the Rev. P. Leopold Fonck, S.J., President of the Pontifical Institute of Biblical Studies.

18 June: The Holy Father has appointed the Rev. Wilhelm Arendt, S.J., Official Theologian of the Sacred Poenitentiaria.

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4 June: Sir Vincent Nash, of the Diocese of Limerick, decorated as officer with the Order of St. Gregory the Great.

Mr. Lorenz Fabacher, of the Archdiocese of New Orleans, nominated Knight of St. Gregory the Great.

19 June: Judge Frank McGloin, President of the Society of the Holy Spirit in the Archdiocese of New Orleans, nominated Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great.

26 June: Mr. Bertram C. A. Windle, President of Queen's College, Cork, Ireland, nominated Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great.

Mr. John Thomas Trumble, of London, nominated Knight of the Order of St. Gregory the Great.

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11 June: The following priests are nominated *Camerieri segreti soprannumerari:* The Revs. John Louis de Santiago, Miceno Clodoaldo, and Joseph Ferreira da Ponte, all of the Diocese of Fortalezza in Brazil; the Revs. Patrick Fisher and Polidore Justin Stockman, both of the Diocese of Monterey and Los Angeles, California.

14 June: The Revs. James N. Connolly, Daniel J. McMackin, and James V. Lewis, all of the Archdiocese of New York.

25 June: The Revs. William J. White and Edward J. McGolrick, both of the Diocese of Brooklyn.

Mr. Gerald Mark Borden, of the Archdiocese of New York, has been nominated Cameriere segreto di spada e cappa soprannumerario.

Studies and Conferences.

OUR ANALECTA.

The Roman documents for the month are:

ACTS OF POPE PIUS X: 1. Letter to the Right Rev. Thomas Kennedy, Titular Bishop of Adrianapolis and Rector of the North American College, in Rome, congratulating the College on the occasion of its fifty years' jubilee.

2. Letter of Cardinal Merry del Val to the Right Rev. Joseph Boff, Administrator of the Diocese of Cleveland, acknowledging the expression of loyalty on the part of the clergy, religious, and laity to the Holy See.

S. CONGREGATION OF THE SACRAMENTS answers a number of *dubia* regarding the extension of the Constitution *Provida* (applicable to Germany in matters of mixed marriages) to the domain of Hungary.

S. CONGREGATION OF THE HOLY OFFICE grants special privileges to those who perform certain devotions in honor of the Immaculate Conception of the B. V. M., during twelve Saturdays preceding her feast (8 December).

S. CONGREGATION OF RELIGIOUS lays down certain conditions for members of religious orders of men who have obtained an indult of secularization.

S. CONGREGATION OF RITES defines the days on which the rubrics do not permit the celebration of privileged Masses in honor of the Sacred Heart and of St. Aloysius Gonzaga.

S. CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX enumerates certain works placed on the list of dangerous books.

BIBLICAL COMMISSION answers a number of questions touching the historical value and interpretation of the first three chapters of Genesis.

ROMAN CURIA announces a number of promotions and appointments.

ENGLISH VERSION OF THE LITANY OF ST. JOSEPH.

A reader of the REVIEW sends us the following English version of the recently authorized litany in honor of St. Joseph [1] which indicates a careful study of the sense and application of the terms of the Latin text:

Holy Joseph,
Illustrious Son of David,
Light of Patriarchs,
Spouse of the Mother of God,
Pure Guardian of the Virgin,
Foster-Father of the Son of God,
Zealous Defender of Christ,
Head of the Holy Family,
Joseph most just,
Joseph most chaste,
Joseph most prudent,
Joseph most brave,
Joseph most obedient,
Joseph most faithful,
Mirror of patience,
Lover of poverty,
Model for workmen,
Glory of family life,
Guardian of virgins,
Safeguard of families,
Comfort of the sorrowing,
Hope of the sick,
Patron of the dying,
Terror of demons,
Protector of Holy Church,

Pray for us.

FATHER TYRRELL'S DYING CONVICTIONS.

The account given by the Prior of Storrington, in his letter to the London *Tablet* (24 July) concerning the last acts of Father Tyrrell, has left a doubt as to the disposition, at the hour of death, of the gifted writer who rated his intellectual convictions higher than the humility which claims the Kingdom of Heaven as the fruit of self-conquest and obedience to legitimate authority in the Church. Any rude judgments

[1] See ECCLES. REVIEW, June, 1909, p. 732.

which would seal the fate of the unhouseled dead priest might be tempered by a remembrance of the earlier days of ardent service and holy zeal in the Jesuit scholasticate, of labor and sacrifices in the missionary ministry in London, of the twenty-five years during which the bright and unpretending priest helped many a soul unto salvation by his preaching, prayer, and writing of such teaching as is contained in *Hard Sayings*, *Faith of the Millions*, and *Nova et Vetera*. The memory, too, of the fact of his delicate health, of his sensitive nature, which made him shrink from hard contact with men who in their slow complacent self-indulgence and assumption of superiority find it wisest to move along the beaten path, whereas they are ever ready to condemn those who, in their all too great eagerness to advance the cause of truth, toil and strive until, weakened and blinded by the dust and crumbling stones of new-made roads, they unfortunately miss their footing and fall.

The Holy Office had censured certain views for which Father Tyrrell had made himself responsible; and as the sensitive pride of a high-strung and ill-used nature caused him to express his resentment and to show a disobedient temper, it drew upon him the penalty of exclusion from the communion of the Church which few men of his disposition can bear without being deeply humiliated. If, as would be but natural, there went forth from him a cry for mercy at the approach of the day of final reckoning, may we doubt that God answered it, and that the application of the Precious Blood in the Sacraments of Penance and Extreme Unction which he received, was unto him a promise of salvation? But without some external and definite expression of the disposition which acknowledges personal error and professes acceptance of the divinely appointed ruling of the Church, it was not possible for the authorities to recognize the probably altered attitude of a repentant soul, saved by hope and silent prayer. Hence Father Tyrrell could not receive the Catholic burial rites which by implication he had definitely repudiated, and which he had not definitely reclaimed by the essential conditions of an open retraction.

Why was not this retraction made; and in its absence can we absolve Father Tyrrell from blame? The published statements of those who were present at the deathbed seem to answer the question; and they imply that the grace of reconciliation which God's mercy would hardly withhold under the circumstances from one so well informed regarding the terms on which it must be asked, failed to reach its full effects (by which Christian burial might have become its right) through the lack of right counsel and persuasion on the part of those who guarded his deathbed.

The thought of a strange yet wholly equitable retribution naturally comes to the mind when we recall that he himself who had extravagantly extolled the function of the will over that of the intellect, was to suffer loss through the very weakness of that will which even the illuminated knowledge of the Catholic doctrine could not move without aid from sympathizers who would voice for him a bold and clear acknowledgment of his error. The names of Baron von Hügel, whose latest work on St. Catharine of Genoa Father Tyrrell had so generously lauded only a short time before his death, and of Miss Petre, with whom he had collaborated in the *Soul's Orbit* and who had sympathized with him in his temperament of doubt, have been mentioned as those on whom the dying priest apparently depended for an interpretation of his motives. They were not the ones naturally at this crisis to interpret him justly. Whatever community of interests they had with Fr. Tyrrell, the light of God's shining on the intelligence of the dying priest made a great difference. If they played in the great game of life for him now, the stakes had a different meaning for them. It is easy to understand their bias and the tenacity with which they sought to guard before the world Father Tyrrell's assumed consistency; but they would have better served the dying man by some such reflection or prayer as Cardinal Newman uttered many years ago in words which sound like some prophetic knowledge of Father Tyrrell's sad case. The passage is culled for us by a friend, from the meditation on " The Forty Days' Teaching ",

and follows the first point on "The Kingdom of God". The italics are not in the original, but serve to emphasize the appositeness of the quotation.

Come, O my dear Lord, and teach me in like manner (as the Apostles). *I need it not, and do not ask it,* as far as this, that the word of truth which in the beginning was given to the Apostles by Thee, has been handed down from age to age, and has already been taught to me, *and Thy infallible Church is the warrant of it.* But I need Thee to teach me day by day, according to each day's opportunities and needs. I need Thee to *give me that true Divine instinct about revealed matters* that, having one part, I may be able to anticipate or to approve of others. I need that understanding of the truths about Thyself which may prepare me for all Thy other truths—or at least may *save me from conjecturing wrongly about them or commenting falsely upon them.* I need the *mind of the Spirit, which is the mind of the holy Fathers, and of the Church,* by which I may not only say what they say on definite points, but think what they think; *in all I need to be saved from an originality of thought,* which is not true if it leads away from Thee. Give me the gift of discriminating between true and false in all discourse of mind. And, for that end, give me, O my Lord, that purity of conscience which alone can receive, which alone can improve Thy inspirations.

Father Tyrrell's deathbed and Cardinal Newman's prayer are a lesson to every teacher and defender of God's truth!

Criticisms and Notes.

CHRIST, THE CHURCH, AND MAN. An Essay on New Methods in Ecclesiastical Studies and Worship, with Some Remarks on a New Apologia for Christianity in relation to the Social Question. By His Eminence Cardinal Capecelatro, Archbishop of Capua. Burns & Oates: London; B. Herder: St. Louis, Mo. 1909. Pp. 78.

Some time ago we reviewed a volume by Mgr. Bonomelli, Bishop of Cremona, in which that energetic prelate directed the attention of the clergy to the false views of devotion to which certain mechanical performances of piety among the people were apt to lead. If, in his zeal, the Bishop went beyond his province by criticizing the seeming anxiety of clerical functionaries to maintain the secular prerogatives of the Holy See, by means of political independence and temporal power, that fact did not affect the truth of his statements that erroneous notions of devotion to shrines and secondary objects of piety, however worthy in their origin, had given rise to a sort of superstitious cult among Catholics and brought about a neglect in many churches of the central object of worship, the Divine Presence and the Blessed Sacrament.

In a similar vein, but embracing the whole field of intellectual and social activity among Catholics, and particularly among the clergy, does Cardinal Capecelatro condemn certain methods both in worship and in the discipline of theological study, methods which have become antiquated and useless with the wear and tear of time. Referring to the subject of liturgical worship the Cardinal sums up his reflections by appealing to the clergy to "banish vigorously from our churches all that is low, vulgar, ugly, or ridiculous; whatever is out of harmony with the dignity and sanctity of worship" (p. 45). In the matter of clerical studies, he advocates greater attention to apologetics. He would have us change our basis in philosophy and theology, without altering of course the solid groundwork furnished by the ancient foundations of Scripture, dogma, and apostolic tradition: "We must enter upon them [these studies] from a more or less different starting-point" (p. 28). The general spread of education requires that our theological studies be *more accurate, more pro-*

found, and of longer duration (p. 29). Cardinal Capecelatro is of the opinion that, "according to a newer method, very little time should be given to the confutation of heretics, and not much to Scholasticism, especially in its antiquated forms" (p. 31). "The statement and refutation of particular heresies belongs rather to the history of dogma, and is nowadays of little or no use, for the reason that such ancient errors, as e. g. those of the Nestorians, Eutychians and Pelagians are obsolete and maintained by none" (ibid.). This is a strong statement, and we are hardly prepared to accept without qualification the expression that the ancient errors are obsolete and maintained by none, save in so far as they appear in a new guise and under new names, which, however, the student should be taught to recognize and understand. Few modern errors touching faith and morals are really new. They are the everlasting repetitions of the obscured intellect following the weakened will and finding justification for the indulgence of pride or vanity or sensuality. But if the principles by which the new errors are to be combated, remain the same, because the deviations from eternal truth vary only in names and forms, it is likewise true that the new method of combat requires adaptation of the powers through new and efficient instruments. We would not lay aside the study of scholasticism, or at least in its applied form of neo-scholasticism with its scientific apparatus, which illustrates the strength of St. Thomas to-day, just as St. Thomas illustrated the thought of Aristotle before him; but we would urge a more practical method of application so as to give the average student a sure grasp of the utility of the system and teach him to regard it with interest and as a thing for practical use.

In theology proper, Cardinal Capecelatro deems it desirable that, "without neglecting the *classical* proofs (from the point of view of the Messianic prophecies and miracles), the clergy should be thoroughly acquainted with and use principally those other proofs" furnished by the modern apologetic school of defenders of Christianity. In regard to Scriptural studies, he advocates a proper attention to the results of the higher critics' investigations; and we heartily second his plea that the Pontifical Commission for the Study of the Bible provide presently a much-needed manual which the seminarist may safely follow, without ignoring the facts ascertained by researches into history and the sciences.

The author speaks at length about the necessity of enforcing the *Motu proprio* on Church Music; but alas! there is little hope, since the Holy See finds it evidently impossible to enforce this legislation, even in the moderate degree which the answers to *Dubia* have allowed, in Rome itself. Indeed, it seems that the members of the Commission are not at one regarding what is to be done in this matter. Such reforms need unity among the bishops, and that seems at present possible only among the hierarchy in England and in Germany.

A part of these excerpts from Cardinal Capecelatro's Pastoral Addresses is devoted to a discussion of the Social Question and the relation of the new apologetic to the same. The subjects of man's equality, of the rights of labor, of the basis of the movement toward social reform from the Christian standpoint, are briefly treated, and in such a way as to point the direction in which the clergy should tend in their studies and preaching.

THE A B C OF TAXATION. By C. B. Fillebrown, President of the Massachusetts Single Tax League. New York: Doubleday, Page & Company. 1909.

The recent discussion of the tariff has brought into prominence once more the whole subject of taxation. As a consequence, the public has a somewhat more adequate notion of the difficulties of the problem, as well as of the unsatisfactory and chaotic character of our present methods of raising revenue. How many kinds of taxes shall be levied, and in what proportion shall the public receipts be derived from each? Only one kind, answers the little volume before us. The author is a Boston merchant who has devoted a great deal of time, thought, and money to the propagation of the central proposal of Henry George's system, namely, that all taxes should be levied upon land. Owing to his ability, moderation, sincerity, and irenic methods, his work has met with an unusual amount of success.

According to Mr. Fillebrown, the fundamental data, the A B C, of taxation are: "Ground Rent is a Social Product," "A Tax Upon Economic Rent Cannot Be Shifted," and "The Selling Value of Land is an Untaxed Value." These propositions are substantially true. Ground rent, what the user of land (exclusive of improvements) is obliged to pay the owner annually, is for the most part a social creation. In towns and cities it is

practically all due to the economic and social advantages connected with the growth of population. In the case of agricultural land it is partly determined by the fertility of the soil. The conclusion which the author draws from this first fundamental fact is that all public revenue should be obtained from this socially created fund of value. This is the natural tax. All other taxes, all taxes upon individually created wealth, are unnatural and artificial. The second proposition is likewise unquestionable, and is accepted by substantially all political economists. Since a tax upon land neither decreases the supply nor increases the demand, it cannot augment either the value of land or its rent. Tax or no tax, the user of land will be compelled through competition to pay the owner all that the land is worth for use. Only in case of monopolistic control of the land of a community could a land tax be shifted to the tenant. On the other hand, a tax upon commodities, such as houses and food, can be passed on to the consumer. For this tax tends to discourage and therefore to decrease production, in other words, to limit the supply. If fewer houses are built house rent will rise. While the third proposition is unassailable, it does not seem to be as important as the other two, or as the author believes it to be. Undoubtedly the purchaser of land always capitalizes the existing taxes upon it, and reduces by that amount the purchase price. That is to say, he buys the land at a figure which will enable him to obtain the normal rate of interest on his investment after paying the tax. Thus, if a piece of land yields a rent of four hundred dollars annually, if the annual tax is one hundred dollars, and if the prevailing rate of interest is five per cent., he will pay for the land not 8000 but 6000 dollars. Hence he escapes taxation on his actual investment. But this fact is not peculiar to investments in land. The man who buys houses, or bonds, or stocks, likewise discounts the existing taxes on the property. He pays only so much as will permit him to obtain a net income at the prevailing rate of interest. He too escapes taxation on his actual investment. Any subsequent tax will in the case of land rest upon the owner, while in the case of buildings it will ultimately be shifted to the tenant. It would seem, therefore, that the significance of this third proposition centers about the public rather than the investor. Inasmuch as taxes upon buildings must

be paid by the tenant, they make the cost of living higher. Taxes upon land have no such effect. Consequently if all taxes upon buildings were transferred to the land the rent of buildings would be to that extent reduced, and the land owner would be compelled in many instances to erect more or better buildings, thus reducing still further the rent of all buildings.

From the viewpoint of economics and expediency this proposal to place all taxes upon the unimproved values of land, is impregnable. Since the amount of land in existence is fixed by nature, it cannot be decreased by taxation. Since the amount of improvements that will be made upon land is determined partly by their cost to the user, and since their cost is increased by taxation, every tax upon them tends to limit their quantity. On the other hand, although the actual quantity of land cannot be increased by taxation, the quantity of it available for use, and the quantity that will be put to the best use, can be thus increased. For the higher the tax on land, the greater will be the pressure upon the owner, who alone must pay the tax, to improve the land and increase its revenue. In a word, a tax on land stimulates production; a tax on improvements discourages it. From the viewpoint of justice the proposal is equally attractive if we abstract from two considerations which will be mentioned presently. For the unimproved value of land is produced either by nature or by society. To tax it is, therefore, to recover for society a part of the social wealth. To tax anything else is to appropriate a part of the wealth created by individuals. This combination of economic and ethical facts apparently places the Single Tax theory on a basis of natural law, and makes a very strong appeal to many students of taxation who are also lovers of justice.

More numerous, however, are the lovers of justice who are repelled by the theory as it is commonly presented. The majority of its advocates seem to overlook or disregard two practical consequences which have an important bearing upon distributive justice. Both arise out of the fact that most of the natural and social values of land have already been appropriated by individuals. In the first place, the Single Tax would fall upon only the present owners of land, and the present receivers of economic rent. All persons who had sold land at a profit, and converted the proceeds into other forms of property, would

escape the tax on the "unearned increment" that they had obtained. As compared with these, present land owners would be treated unfairly by the State. A partial remedy for this condition might, indeed, be found in a supplementary tax upon incomes from capital and loans, and an inheritance tax upon large fortunes. The second violation of distributive justice would occur through the reduction in the value of land on account of the imposition of the new tax. The additional taxation would, indeed, fall upon natural and social values, not upon values created by the individual; but in many, perhaps in the majority of cases, it would be drawn from values for which the individual had given a full equivalent. If a man has paid 5000 dollars for a piece of land that is at present worth no more than that amount, any transfer of other taxes to the land will cause a corresponding reduction in his income and in the value of his property. Although society may have created this value, society has not given it to the owner for nothing. Society has presented it to some previous possessor, and permitted him or some later possessor to exact the full equivalent from the present owner. Hence the new tax will fall upon values that have been fully earned by their possessor. The average Single-Taxer does not give sufficient attention to this aspect of the problem. If we were to accept his account of the matter we should conclude that the typical land-owner is a man who obtained present holdings for little or nothing in a region that has since witnessed the growth of a great city. The fact is that those who are in this fortunate position form but a small minority of all the actual owners of land. Some of the Single Tax advocates attempt to meet this objection with the assertion that private property in land is essentially wrong, and that the purchaser of it is to be likened to a man who has unwittingly bought a stolen horse. Notwithstanding the ability with which Henry George defended the former contention, his arguments have convinced very few persons. Moreover, there is one vital difference between the purchaser of land and the purchaser of a stolen horse: the latter possesses something that was unjustly taken from its true owner; the former is in no such situation. Even in the hypothesis that society is the true and original owner of all natural and social land values, and that it acted unwisely in permitting them to pass into the hands of individuals, the title of the

present owner is perfectly valid. It has been obtained by purchase or by a series of purchases from some person or persons to whom society transferred it by a virtual gift. If society was the true owner of the land it had a right to transfer it in this way; if its claim did not include this power of disposal it was not a true owner. In either hypothesis, therefore, the present owner is not the possessor of ill-gotten goods.

Mr. Fillebrown does not fall into these errors of the extremists. He sets up no defense of the untenable and *doctrinaire* assertion that private ownership of land and private receipt of rent are intrinsically immoral, nor does he advocate confiscation of any of the land values now enjoyed by individuals. He might be classified as a "Single-Taxer limited." While he would have all taxes placed upon land, he would not have these exceed the amount that is necessary to defray "the expenses of government economically administered." The complete Single Tax program, that is, the appropriation of the full rental value of land through taxation, he seems to regard as unnecessary if not unjust, and as unlikely to become of practical interest except in the remote future. Since the execution of this program would render the land valueless to the private owner, it would be unjust unless the State should first pay him what the land was worth at the time the tax was imposed. Henry George's proposal to levy such a tax without compensation violates all practical and adequate conceptions of justice, and has repelled thousands of his readers who might otherwise have been attracted to the essential proposals of his system. So far is Mr. Fillebrown from this position that he would have the partial absorption of economic rent which he advocates brought about very gradually. The transfer of all other taxes to land might, he declares, be extended over a period of thirty years (pp. 50-52). In this way land owners would suffer no greater loss than that which ordinarily falls upon the owners of other property in the course of such a period. For the heaviest burden that could be imposed upon any owner of land would be an annual increase of fifty cents per thousand in his taxes, and an annual decrease of ten dollars per thousand in the value of his land. Many other forms of property, for example, buildings and United States bonds, depreciate in value with equal rapidity. On the other hand, all owners of land occupied by buildings of average value

who were also the users of the same, would pay about as much total taxes as at present. Again, in the great majority of instances the current increase in land values would more than offset the decrease occasioned by the additional taxes. In reality the new tax would come out of the "unearned increment." Finally, the individual cases of hardship and inequality would not be more numerous nor more severe than under the present system. No scheme of taxation, no change in any existing scheme, can be enforced with complete justice to every individual.

The first three chapters of Mr. Fillebrown's book are taken up with the fundamental propositions discussed in the foregoing paragraphs. Of the remaining chapters the most important are: IV, V, and VI, which present some striking object-lessons drawn from land values in Boston; VIII, "Justice of the Single Tax"; IX, "The Single Tax and the Farmer," in which the author maintains that if all taxes were levied on land the farmer would pay less than he does now, owing to the fact that at present the assessed valuation of urban lands is too low, and that of agricultural lands too high; XII, "The Single Tax," which contains an excellent summary of and argument for the Single Tax theory; and Appendix D, "Statement of the Rev. Edward McGlynn." The last-named division comprises the Italian text and an English translation of the document in which Dr. McGlynn placed before Monsignor Satolli his views on the Single Tax and the private ownership of land. It will be remembered that this statement was accepted by four professors of the Catholic University as containing nothing contrary to Catholic doctrine, and that their decision was at least *implicitly* approved by Satolli when he reinstated the author of the document. Whatever may be said concerning the precise degree of *explicit* approval given by the Apostolic Delegate, the significant and decisive aspect of his action is the unquestionable fact that he must have satisfied his own mind and conscience as to the soundness of the professors' judgment. That a man of Satolli's position, ability, and theological attainments would in a case of such importance have taken the decision of the professors entirely on faith, is utterly preposterous. He undoubtedly examined the document carefully himself, and found that his opinion of it coincided with that of the professors. It will also be remembered that all this occurred two years after the appearance of the Encyclical,

"Rerum Novarum," which is believed by many to contain a condemnation of the Single Tax theory. Evidently Satolli did not share this view. Hence the Catholic who is told that the Single Tax is in conflict with the Catholic teaching on private ownership, need only reply that he sees no necessity of being more orthodox than Cardinal Satolli.

In this connexion Mr. Fillebrown's book is valuable on account of the clear distinction that it draws (especially in Chapter VII) between the Single Tax and the nationalization of land. The author shows that the former would not make the State the universal land owner nor deprive the individual of any of the rights of use, permanent possession, or disposal. These constitute the essence of private ownership. In no adequate sense of the words is the Single Tax the equivalent of common ownership. Since it is essentially a system of taxation, its morality must be determined on that basis. It will be unjust only when the tax that it imposes is excessive in amount. Many of the Single Tax advocates do not sufficiently emphasize this feature of the system, while, on the other hand, they exaggerate the right of the community to absorb existing economic rents. Readers who are repelled by these extremists will find in Mr. Fillebrown's book a clear, practical, and moderate exposition of all that is essential in the theory of the Single Tax.

Our present system of taxation, or rather, lack of system, is one of the most antiquated, unreasonable, and ineffective institutions ever tolerated by an enlightened people. In addition to taxes upon land, we have taxes upon the instruments of production, upon credits, upon imports, upon commodities, upon houses, upon personal property, upon inheritances, and upon incomes. Of these the tax upon the various forms of capital as well as the tax upon buildings is for the most part passed on by the owner to the consumer or user. The consumer likewise pays the tariff tax, the tax on commodities, and the personal property tax. About the only taxes that he does not pay, with the exception of that on land, are those levied on incomes and inheritances. As the latter are very insignificant in this country, the consumer evidently pays substantially all the taxes on other property than land. This is manifestly unwise and unjust. In the first place, it is notorious that the rich avoid the payment of the personal property tax to a much greater extent

than the poor. In the second place and in general, a tax upon consumption falls for the greater part upon the necessaries of life, and therefore upon the shoulders of those in poor and those in moderate circumstances. It is drawn to a great extent from incomes that ought to be entirely exempt from taxation. Nor is this the whole story. Inasmuch as it is imposed upon necessities rather than luxuries, it collects from both rich and poor *at the same rate*. This is a clear violation of that canon of distributive justice which dictates that large incomes should yield up a larger percentage of themselves than small ones, since the deduction of any given proportion is less burdensome to the possessors of the former. A dollar is less important to the rich than to the poor man. Herein lies the justification of the principle of progression in taxation. But the tax upon consumption deducts as much from the dollar of the poor man as from the dollar of the rich man.

Out of this unjust and irrational condition the Single Tax policy, in the moderate form defended by Mr. Fillebrown, points the way to wider justice and larger expediency. It ought, however, to be supplemented for a long time by taxes upon large inheritances and large incomes. Ultimately it would fall almost entirely upon values that accrued to land after the actual owner had bought it. Germany has already begun to lead the way with the tax through which some of her cities and provinces obtain a considerable part of the current increases in land values. The budget recently introduced into the British House of Commons embodies the same policy, and also a provision for an extra tax on lands held for purposes of speculation. In this as in other matters of social reform, America is far behind many of the countries of Europe. There are, however, strong indications that the question of increasing the taxes on land will before long receive active agitation in some of our large cities. It has been estimated that during the year 1908 the increase in the value of the real estate of New York City exceeded the entire municipal expenditures for the same period. If half of this increase had been appropriated through taxation all or almost all the taxes on other property than land could have been abolished. The possibilities of increasing the amount of money available for public improvements and works of social betterment through a moderate tax on all future in-

creases in land values, are manifestly great. When the problems of raising sufficient municipal revenues and of housing the poor are becoming year by year more pressing and more difficult, a people as practical as ours will not long continue to ignore the efficient and equitable remedy which is to be found in the increased taxation of the socially created and individually unearned and unbought increases in the value of city real estate.

JOHN A. RYAN.

The St. Paul Seminary.

SOCIALISM IN THEORY AND PRACTICE. By Morris Hillquit. New York: The Macmillan Company. 1909. Pp. ix-361.

To define Socialism as economic collectivism—the nationalization of production and distribution—facilitates discussion. Besides, it expresses what the rank and file of those who adhere to collectivism offer as the sole remedy for the economic as well as the social and political and even moral disorders of modern society. On the other hand, the definition at best stands for just *one* aspect of Socialism as an international movement, one isolated plank of the socialist's platform, one segment of socialistic philosophy. Of course it is highly desirable to have economic collectivism discussed on its own essential merits; but when this has been done the disputants have still to reckon with the broader relations and issues, the theoretical principles which, whether implicitly or explicitly, are presupposed to, and the consequences entailed by, the economic propositions. It may indeed be said that there *is* no socialistic philosophy; that there are socialists who defend a philosophy—a philosophy that is on the whole materialistic and atheistic; but that this is a personal affair and should not be permitted to becloud the discussion of collectivism as a project of economic reform. This is of course obviously true, and, if the distinction be kept steadily in mind, collectivism may and should be tested separately from the world-views of philosophers who happen to be likewise socialists or socialists who may chance to be philosophers.

The author of the book above introduced belongs to the latter class. In a preceding work, *History of Socialism in the United States,*[1] he had written mainly as a historian—a historian, it is

[1] New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1903.

true, with obvious pro-socialistic sympathies, but still as a narrator, not as a pleader. In the volume at hand he appears, in the first place, as a theorist or a practical philosopher, the rôle of historian being rather subordinate. Although his avowed purpose has been "to present . . . a brief summary of the socialist philosophy in its bearing on the most important social institutions and problems of our time and a condensed account of the history, methods, and achievements of the socialist movement of the world" (p. v); nevertheless the narrative is throughout a plea for socialism and for socialism viewed not simply as collectivism, but as the author reads it out of the minds of its founders and leaders whose proposals for social reform are the consequences of a certain philosophy of life—a philosophy that is at least implicitly naturalistic and agnostic, if not avowedly materialistic and atheistic. Implicitly, not explicitly, because Mr. Hillquit in the present work omits all mention of religion; and yet explicitly since, on the one hand, the philosophy of socialism as a world theory and movement is admitted by its followers to be naturalistic, materialistic, and at least agnostic; whilst, on the other hand, Mr. Hillquit has elsewhere refused to accept socialism in any other restricted meaning. Thus, for instance, writing in the *Worker*, 23 March, 1907, he says: "It is high time that the American public abandon the myth of the diverse meanings of 'socialism' and the 'diverse kinds of socialism'. There is not and probably never was a theory and movement of more striking uniformity than the theory and movement of socialism. The international socialist movement with its thirty million adherents, at a conservative estimate, and its organized parties in about twenty-five civilized countries in both hemispheres, is all based on the same Marxian program and follows substantially the same methods of propaganda and action."

Moreover, a theory of moral conduct which positively excludes all man's relations to God and to himself is at least implicitly naturalistic and agnostic. Now such is the theory proposed by Mr. Hillquit. A number of authorities, he admits, "extend the operation of ethics to conduct toward oneself and one's fellowmen: philosophers of the theological school include conduct toward God within the purview of ethics, while the thinkers of the evolutionary biological school, with Spencer at the head, classify ethical conduct as conduct toward self, offspring, and

race. But on closer examination it will be found that the addition of all factors other than the purely social factor is meaningless or confusing. Ethics remains indifferent to the conduct of the individual toward himself, so long as that conduct does not directly or indirectly affect the well-being of his fellowmen or of the human race. When an individual wastes his physical or mental resources in a manner calculated to cripple his own life without however involving the well-being of other individuals, we call his conduct improvident or unwise, and only when he abuses his own body in a manner likely to injure his offspring or to enfeeble or degenerate the race do we call him immoral. Similarly we consider an individual immoral if he is in the habit (?) of transgressing those religious precepts which happen to be in accord with the generally accepted secular notions of 'right' or 'good' in social conduct; but if he neglects to comply with certain prescribed religious observances which have no bearing on the well-being of his fellowmen we merely call him irreligious" (p. 39). Aside from the arbitrariness of this delimitation of ethics, and the impossibility of establishing such a baseless and rootless system of morals, the whole conception is obviously the offspring of a materialistic world-view, the denial or the ignoring of the supra-material nature of the soul, the freedom of the will, and the primary, essential, relation of the human creature to the Creator.

However, Mr. Hillquit's specialty is not ethics. Witness the following: "The theological school of thinkers, of which St. Augustine, the medieval monk Ambrose (*sic*), and especially Thomas Aquinas, are the classical exponents, and which still has numerous and vigorous adherents, assumes that there is a universal and supreme standard of right and wrong. That standard is the divine command which has been given to all mankind and is expressed in the Holy Scriptures" (p. 40). By the way, who is this "medieval monk Ambrose"? It is hardly possible that Mr. Hillquit had in mind the saintly Bishop of Milan who won Augustine to the course of virtue and truth? No, for St. Ambrose was neither medieval nor monk. Who then? Alcuin, Abelard, Anselm, Albert? No matter; any other name with the same initial would look and sound as well between Augustine and Aquinas. Waiving this, however, where did Mr. Hillquit find that Thomas Aquinas "assumes" or holds any such doc-

trine as our author here asserts? Had he taken the trouble to look into the *Summa,* especially the Second Part, he would have found the correction of two errors: first, that there was a fairly comprehensive system of natural law (not "Natural Laws," p. 41) developed by St. Thomas some three centuries before Hugo Grotius; secondly, that the Angelic Doctor makes the distinctive standard of right and wrong "the essential nature of man" and not "a divine command expressed in the Holy Scripture".

Nevertheless, as was said above, Mr. Hillquit's strong point is not ethics. That, so far as his present work manifests it, lies in his ability to set forth the ideals and proposals of socialism gathered and assimilated to his own mind and style—a style on the whole clear, direct, and earnest—from the authoritative sources of the movement. The Catholic student must, of course, dissent from most of those ideals and proposals. Still it may be his duty to know and understand them all. If so, he will be helped by the present book. He will find therein a sufficiently full summary, abreast with the most recent socialistic plans and theories. The book is divided into two parts. The first contains an outline of the socialistic philosophy and movement, under the headings Socialism and Individualism; Socialism and Ethics; Law, the State, Politics. The second part sets forth the socialistic proposals of reform—industrial, political, administrative, social. An appendix describes the socialistic movement throughout Europe and in the United States. The author's account of the existing social evils and abuses is objective, temperate, and mainly accurate. Many, most indeed, of the reforms he proposes are sane and practicable; all of them, however, and more might be introduced by other methods than a revolution of the present organization of society, such as socialism stands for. But will they? Perhaps; perhaps not. At any rate they never could or would be if the principles of socialism here defended were consistently reduced to practice.

SOCIAL REFORM AND THE REFORMATION. By Jacob Salwyn Schapiro, Ph.D., Tutor in History, College of the City of New York. (Vol. XXXIV, No. 2, "Studies in History, Economics and Public Law," edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.) New York: The Columbia University Press (Longmans, Green & Co.). 1909. Pp. 160.

On the face of it, a typical monographic thesis of the kind nowadays most seriously in vogue among graduate students and

specialist research scholars at American universities—where German university fashions are already worn without awkwardness of novelty. In a word, we have a genuine doctoral performance, done brown to a turn, as touching the single-phase treatment of some topic selected. The author tabulates the contents of his treatise under two main heads, which we may also broadly regard as his major and minor premise: namely (Part I), "Social Conditions in Germany at the beginning of the Sixteenth Century," and (Part II) "Schemes of Reform." Under both heads he is interesting, fresh, and readable; quite vividly so in certain of his incidental pointers on medieval trade, in quarters of high finance, as also in sundry details of humbler "husbandry". In all orderly syllogisms, however, it is usually the conclusion that practically appeals to our sense of instruction. "If the princes encountered in the Church a political hindrance, the merchants found it no less an economic one. The financial drain on Germany, due to the exactions of the Papal Court, made greater and more onerous during the Pontificate of Leo X, had to be borne to a larger extent than ever before by the business interests. Land, having fallen in value, was no longer so lucrative a source for taxation as trade. The strict usury laws sanctioned by the Church were, too, felt as an obstacle by many who now for the first time had the opportunity to invest their money with the expectation of enormous profits. Hence it is no wonder that the towns became the hotbeds of the Lutheran agitation."

Recollecting ourselves toward modern fiscal exemptions from the Catholic Church altogether, from whether direct or indirect "exactions of the Papal Court", we can anyhow clear the Catholic exchequer, from Reformation times down to this day, of the admittedly large items debit, in temporal economics, to wit, that the Catholic Church is clear and absolved from begetting Great Britain's "billionaire" enormous budget; nor thinks of pressing that by-gone Catholic asset therein, of sequestered and confiscated Catholic endowments now remnant, where still preserved, in favor of the Anglican "Establishment". And assuredly the Catholic Church has not produced those colossal budgets in France and Germany to the account of their standing armies and navies. Again, it is evident that the Catholic Church has not encumbered "emancipated" Italy with one of the most staggering national debts on record. We might even, were the digres-

sion expedient, recollect our thoughts upon still other huge drains on the temporal purse apart from all Catholic and Papal causation, which might seem to reflect by no means too discreditably against medieval economics, by parallel instances then and now. What comparison of "' grafts", for a single detached suggestion, shall we find in the enduring solidity of Bourges or Notre Dame, or Antwerp cathedrals over against somewhat prevalent abuses of the liberated secular purse in contemporary public works of one sort or another? Discounting also, in the case of Notre Dame, all the devastating havoc of a French Revolution and the "free-thinking" Commune! W. P.

Literary Chat.

Apropos of Socialism, an important book on which subject is described elsewhere in this number, Mr. Hilaire Belloc's bright little Catholic Truth Society pamphlet may be here recommended as a clever suggestion to those who are looking for a way out (and whose eyes are not so turned?) from the existing social evils. The paper, it may be remembered, created quite a hubbub on its first appearance in England, because of its restricted definition of socialism. Mr. Belloc declares that government possession and management of economic production and distribution "is the only exclusive meaning of Socialism"; that "all other wobbly ideas have been tacked on to it by its enemies or its friends—that it is 'atheistic', 'immoral', or that it is 'progressive', 'Christian', etc., have nothing to do with the one proposition which alone distinguishes it from all other policies" (p. 11). Mr. Belloc's critics found no little fault with the declaration. They held that it eliminates the soul of Socialism which consists in its naturalistic and materialistic principles: that it removes the fence between Socialism and Christianity; that it is misleading, dangerous, and so on. Be this as it may—the controversy does not concern us here—collectivism can and should be weighed and measured in its own essence and consequences. This Mr. Belloc has done, very briefly indeed, but withal at least suggestively. The points that he makes are that Socialism would destroy freedom and the satisfaction of man's natural craving for property. Of course there are obvious socialistic answers to these contentions, and Mr. Belloc foresees and cleverly meets them.

It is comparatively easy indeed to pick out the flaws in collectivism, but not quite so easy to indicate a definite alternative remedy for the intolerable conditions of our present industrial society. Mr. Belloc finds

the only positive help—aside, of course, from the moral, which does not fall within his purview—to be a highly divided organization of property—"If you could make a society in which the greater part of citizens owned capital and land in small quantities, that society would be happy and secure" (p. 14). That the permanency of such an organization would be possible the author argues from the fact that "the highly divided state of property was kept secure for centuries by public opinion translating itself into laws and customs, by a method of guilds, of mutual societies, by an almost religious feeling of the obligation not to transgress certain limits of competition," etc. (p. 15).

The whole contention of the future in Europe (does the writer omit America because his ideal is here more nearly realized?) he finds to lie between these two theories. "On the one hand you have the Socialist theory, the one remedy, the only remedy seriously discussed in the industrial societies which have ultimately grown out of the religious schism of the sixteenth century. . . . On the other hand you have the Catholic societies whose ultimate appetite is for a state of highly divided property, working in a complex and probably, at last, in a co-operative manner" (p. 16).

Mr. Belloc sees the latter remedy being effectually applied in Ireland, and the same solution appealing "to the great mass of the French people (with the exception of certain plague spots, such as the mining and spinning districts of the North)" (*ib.*).

These concrete instances seem to save the author's proposal from its at first sight apparent vagueness. On the other hand, however, they seem no less to delimit the remedy to agricultural countries or regions. Wherever "the plague spots" of colossal manufactories and congested populations exist is a highly divided property system to be hoped for? Mr. Belloc does not discuss this question. A suggestion pointing toward an affirmative answer might be drawn from the co-operative organizations both for production and consumption that have grown up in such countries—notably in Belgium—in recent years. Mr. Hillquit quotes authority for the statement that in 1901 there were 56,623 known co-operative societies in the world. Of these there were 2582 (in 1907), with a membership of 119,581 families, in little Belgium alone. The aggregate sales of these Belgian societies amounted (in 1906) to 31,174,552 francs, and their net profits were 3,035,940 francs. This would seem to illustrate a highly divided condition of capital amongst the working classes. It must be remembered, however, that these "co-operatives" are all Socialists and a not unimportant sign of their zeal for their cause is the fact that "in the electoral campaign of 1900 they printed and distributed at their own expense two million socialist booklets" (Hillquit, p. 248). On the other hand, however, the attitude of organized Socialism toward the co-operative associations is one of "neutrality". While recognizing in them "a proper medium for the education of the working

classes in the independent direction of its affairs, the party does not attribute to them a determining importance for the liberation of the working class from the chain of wage slavery" (p. 253).

Since, then, the social evils are most acute in manufacturing areas, and since it is there that the Socialist remedy is most propagated, the counter-remedy—the *only* counter-remedy, "the only possible alternative," as Mr. Belloc declares it to be—needs some further illustration as regards its application to such regions and conditions.

Books Received.

CHRIST, THE CHURCH, AND MAN. An Essay on New Methods in Ecclesiastical Studies and Worship, with some Remarks on a New Apologia for Christianity in relation to the Social Question. By His Eminence Cardinal Capecelatro. London: Burns & Oates; St. Louis: B. Herder. 1909. Pp. 78. Price 55 cents.

THE ROMAN BREVIARY. Its Sources and History. By Dom Jules Bandot, Benedictine of Farnborough. Translated from the French by a Priest of the Diocese of Westminster. London: Catholic Truth Society; St. Louis: B. Herder. 1909. Pp. 260. Price, $1.00.

RELIGIOSI IURIS CAPITA SELECTA adumbravit Raphael Molitor, O.S.B., Abbas S. Joseph in Guestfalia. Ratisbonae, Romae, Neo Eboraci et Cincinnati: Fr. Pustet et Soc. 1909. Pp. viii-560. Pr. 6 Marks.

THE HOLY PRACTICES OF A DIVINE LOVER, or The Saintly Ideots Devotions. By Dame Gertrude More, Nun of the Holy Order of St. Benedict of the English Congregation. Edited with an Introduction by Dom H. Lane Fox, Monk of the same holy Order. London: Sands & Co.; St. Louis: B. Herder. 1909. Pp. 217. Price, 75 cents.

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